CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM: ADOLF STOECKER'S "CHRISTIAN-SOCIALIST" ALTERNATIVE TO MARXIST SOCIALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY GERMANY

by

Ronald Lee Massanari

Department of Religion
Duke University

Date: May 8, 1969

Approved:

Hans J. Hillerbrand, Supervisor

Waldo Beach

Stuart C. Henry

Frederick Herzog

Harold T. Parker

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the Department of Religion
in the Graduate School of Arts and
Sciences of Duke University

1969

ABSTRACT

(Religion)

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM: ADOLF STOECKER'S "CHRISTIAN-SOCIALIST" ALTERNATIVE TO MARXIST SOCIALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY GERMANY

by

Ronald Lee Massanari

Department of Religion
Duke University

Date: May 8, 1969

Approved:

Hans J. Hillerbrand, Supervisor

Waldo Beach
Stuart Henry
Frederick Herzog
Harold T. Parker

An abstract of a dissertation submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of
Religion in the Graduate School of Arts
and Sciences of Duke University

1969

ARCHIVES
Ph.D.
M414C
1969

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the response of one sector of the German Protestant Church in the nineteenth century to the social problem, the crisis of human existence provoked by industrialization. The study focuses on Adolf Stoecker (1835-1909), court preacher in Berlin (1874-1890), member of the Reichstag for most of the last thirty years of his life, and primary figure in the Christian-Socialist Workers' Party founded in 1878. Stoecker's Christian-Socialism is seen as representative of one of the ways the Church in Germany responded to the social problem. Emerging from the Protestant social tradition and the Inner Mission movement, Stoecker was one of the first figures in the German Church to interpret Christianity in social and political terms. This study explicates his understanding of Christian-Socialism in terms of the humanization of man and society. His confessional and theological position is seen as the foundation of his understanding of Christian-Socialism. His interpretation of Christianity led him to advocate a freie Volkskirche involved in the needs and problems of the common man. Such an understanding of the Christian message had the effect of

undercutting institutional Protestantism in Germany. His concern for social ethics led him to censure the individualistic orientation prevalent in the Protestant Church and to criticize the almost exclusive concern of the Church for the cure and care of individual souls. He worked for a socially oriented Church, that could fulfill its prophetic and social function free from ties to the state.

Stoecker was also one of the first within the German Church to respond to the German Marxists, both in terms of a critique of their position and by offering an alternative--Christian-Socialism. His critique of the Marxists centered on their advocacy of revolution, their anthropological understanding, their internationalism, and their atheism. Stoecker's criticism and alternative reflected his political conservatism, his concern for social order, his nationalism and monarchism, and his belief that lasting social reform had to be accompanied by a religious-ethical (Christian) reformation of the German people.

A distinction has been made in this study between Stoecker's perspective of Christian-Socialism and his program of 1878, the former being considered the primary aspect in understanding his alternative to the Marxists and his response to the social problem. Stoecker's biography, his political and ecclesiastical activity, his political program, and his anti-Semitism have been treated in other monographs, as noted in the historiographical study of Stoecker interpretations. Christian-Socialism was, for the most part, an unsuccessful effort relative to the Church and nation at large, but it did inject a significant perspective, as well as an additional alternative, into Christian history. This perspective and alternative, as a response to the social problem and to the German Marxists, is the focus of this dissertation.

PREFACE

Social issues have been a perennial problem for the Church at large and for individual Christians in particular. As early as the book of Acts, for example, there is recorded a Christian community's effort to come to terms with the problem of poverty.[1] From the first century onward, the Church has had to deal with a multitude of social problems, from poverty, slavery, and serfdom to public morality and the place of women in society. Never, however, have social problems been so acute as in the period of industrialization in the West. Nothing alienated the common man from Christianity as did the social problem.[2] Nothing drew the common man into the revolt against Christianity that characterized Europe since the French Revolution with quite the same force as did the social problem. How the Church and its members reacted to this problem has been a crucial factor in determining the existence of western man.

---

[1] Acts 4: 32-35 records the experiment in communal living at Jerusalem.

[2] In German the generic problem of the crisis of human existence provoked by industrialization is referred to as the soziale Frage. In this study, soziale Frage has been translated as either social problem or social question, depending upon the context, and is meant to convey the same intent as soziale Frage.

This problem was especially acute in Germany where Protestantism had entered into an intimate relationship with the national life. Industrialization in nineteenth century Germany brought drastic changes into the work, home, and living patterns of the common man. It had the effect of a massive reorganization of society, reordering traditional values and morals. Such changes presented the Church with the challenge of coming to terms with the new forms of life and new thought patterns that emerged with industrialization. Often the Church remained ineffectual, unable to move from its traditional perspective, failing to deal significantly with the challenge of the social problem. If the Church was to be a creative force in the modern world, it would have to be reformed, renewed, and reconstituted. A new social sensitivity and responsiveness would have to emerge, not only taking cognizance of the social problem but meeting the challenge of this problem with determination and action.

Adolf Stoecker was one of the first figures in the German Protestant Church to recognize this fact. His efforts represent one way the Church in Germany responded to the social problem. But it was not only the social problem that concerned Stoecker, for he also sought to meet the challenge and threat of the German Marxists. The atheistic and revolutionary program of the Socialists was seen as a formidable threat to Christianity and to the German nation. Stoecker's alternative perspective and program to that of the Marxists, and his attempt to deal effectively with the social problem, is the focus of this study.

Since there was very little change in Stoecker's Christian-Socialist perspective throughout his life, I have developed this explication of his perspective and program largely independent of the chronology of his life. Even though I have presented a biographical sketch of this figure, biographical factors are, for the most part, incidental to understanding Stoecker's position. Due to the fact that his perspective was formulated in the 1870's and early 1880's, I have tried to use source material from that period. Later sources, often repetitious of earlier works, are used when they provide helpful expositions or clarifications of his position. I have included the date of individual articles and speeches, found in collections, in the first citation. The quotations included in this study were translated by this writer.

A debt of gratitude is due to many who have given me assistance in the completion of this dissertation: to Duke University and the Danforth Foundation for financial assistance that made possible graduate study free from money worries, to Mr. Emerson Ford of the Duke University Library and to Mr. Donn Michael Farris of the Duke Divinity School Library for making available many of the sources necessary for this study, and to Mrs. W. S. Pickard for carefully typing the final copy.

I am also indebted to Professors Waldo Beach, Stuart C. Henry, Frederick Herzog, and Harold Parker, who were not only stimulating teachers but who were helpful members of my doctoral committee. Above all my thanks are due to Professor Hans J. Hillerbrand, who guided me throughout this study, giving liberally of his time. As a wise and helpful mentor, he offered valuable criticism and suggestions, leaving the final decisions and interpretations to me. To my wife Rhoda goes the greatest debt of gratitude, for standing by me in the trying times of graduate study and dissertation writing, helping me whenever possible. To her this study is dedicated.

R. L. M.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iii

PREFACE vi

I. INTRODUCTION: BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ADOLF STOECKER 2

Biographical Sketch of Adolf Stoecker, 2
Survey of the Major Interpretations of Adolf Stoecker, 20

II. BACKGROUND: THE SETTING OF ADOLF STOECKER'S LIFE AND ACTIVITY 51

The Political Setting, 51
The Socio-Economic Situation, 75
Ecclesiastical Context, 79
Theological Context, 88
Protestant-Social Movement, 91

III. ADOLF STOECKER'S UNDERSTANDING OF CHRISTIAN-SOCIALISM AS THE HUMANIZATION OF MAN FROM A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE 106

The Confessional Position: Stoecker's Theological Framework, 109
Political and Social Christianity: Stoecker's Interpretation of the Christian Message, 127
Stoecker's Critique and Analysis of the Structure, Institutions, and Foundations of Society, 152
Stoecker's Analysis and Critique of the Social-Democrats (German Marxists) and of their Revolutionary Solution to the Social Problem, 172
The Apologetic Position: Stoecker's Defense for the Validity of Christian-Socialism, 186

IV. CHRISTIAN-SOCIALISM: ADOLF STOECKER'S PROGRAM 194
V. EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION 211
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 230

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM:
ADOLF STOECKER'S "CHRISTIAN-SOCIALIST" ALTERNATIVE TO MARXIST SOCIALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY GERMANY

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION: BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ADOLF STOECKER

Biographical Sketch of Adolf Stoecker

On February 21, 1896 Emperor Wilhelm II sent an open telegram to the Berlin press, saying: "Stoecker is finished, just as I predicted years ago. Political pastors are an absurdity . . . Christian-Socialism is nonsense . . . . Pastors should care for the souls in their parish and fulfill their duties of Christian charity but they most certainly should not play at politics."[1] This was the "official" verdict on Adolf Stoecker. The Emperor's assessment of Stoecker's significance and reputation at that time was essentially correct, for by 1896 the influence of this once prominent and controversial figure was most certainly on the wane. Who was this "political-pastor" that evoked such a stinging public rebuke from the Emperor, and, more importantly, what were the ideas and position labeled "nonsense"?

---

[1] This telegram is quoted in almost every treatment of Stoecker. See, for example: Dietrich von Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker. Lebensbild und Zeitgeschichte (2 vols.; Berlin: Verlag der Vaterländischen Verlags- und Kunstanstalt, 1910), II, 162.

Adolf Christian Stoecker was born in 1835, the second son of an army sergeant stationed at Halberstadt near Magdeburg in northern Germany. Stoecker seemed to have had a relatively uneventful childhood in a family "characterized by common love and respect."[1] During his teens, Stoecker participated in a pietistic Bible-study group under the guidance of the Halberstadt pastor Hugo Lange and Privy Councilor Krüger. As was common in such circles, Stoecker had some sort of a religious experience. Occurring in the summer of 1853, this experience was a determining factor in his vocational choice of the ministry.[2] In the same year, Stoecker left Halberstadt for the University of Halle to study theology, philosophy, and philology. Most notable of his professors at Halle was the theologian, Friedrich Tholuck.[3]

---

[1] Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker, I, 9. Oertzen's two volume treatment of Stoecker will be used in this study for much of the biographical data. Oertzen had access to a number of sources, e.g., letters and private papers, that are available now only as he has reproduced them. One problem in Oertzen's treatment is his extensive use of Stoecker's own autobiographical statements without citing the source. The reliability of the source material presented by Oertzen is generally accepted, and is used in almost every study of Stoecker.

[2] Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker, I, 23-25.

[3] *Ibid.*, 27-28.

During this period of his academic endeavors, Stoecker described himself "as a good student but a bad Christian."[1] Coming from a lower-middle class family and receiving only a small University stipend, Stoecker suffered from the timeless plight of many students of not having sufficient funds. One of the highlights of his time at Halle was as a member of a student dueling fraternity. Here Stoecker claimed to have found training and discipline in courage and patriotism, as well as good comraderie.[2] Most of his academic work at Halle was in the fields of exegetical and Biblical studies, which he did not consider very challenging when compared to the work in the Classics he had done at Halberstadt.[3] With a "new resolve for academic study," Stoecker went to the University of Berlin, again to study theology.[4] Here Stoecker was particularly influenced by the theologian Karl Nitzsch.[5] It was under the tutelage of Nitzsch that Stoecker came into contact with Johann Wichern's Inner Mission movement.[6] Stoecker's first theological examination was taken at Berlin in 1857. The next three years were spent as a private tutor with several families of nobility, including that of Count Lambsdorff in the Kurland region. In 1861 Stoecker passed his second theological examination at Magdeburg. Prior to his ordination in October of 1862, Stoecker spent some nine months traveling throughout Europe. One of the more memorable events of his trip was the contact he made with the Waldensian community in northern Italy. Stoecker was fascinated not only by their community life and worship but by their emphasis on "Christian service."[1]

---

[1] Stoecker, as quoted by Oertzen, *Adolf Stoecker*, I, 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, 29-30.

[3] *Ibid.*, 28.

[4] *Ibid.*, 31.

[5] Oertzen, *Adolf Stoecker*, I, 31.

[6] See Chapter II, pages 91-98.

Stoecker's first parish was in the rural community of Seggerde in the Altmark region. In spite of the almost feudal social organization that pervaded this area, Stoecker tended to idealize these people as the most contented he had ever known.[2] In 1866, after serving in Seggerde for some three years, he was moved to Hamersleben, an industrial center near Magdeburg. It was here that he learned for the first time about the problems and conditions of the working classes. That same year, he married Anna Friederike Krüger, the niece of Councilor Krüger of Halberstadt. According to one interpreter, "this marriage was made in heaven," and their home was one of "unchanging love and truth, full of joy, work, and music."[1] While a pastor in Hamersleben, Stoecker began to contribute regularly to the journal Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung, a periodical that was to become an important organ for Stoecker over the next several decades. These early articles represent his initial attempts to grapple with the social and religious problems of the day.[2] Also during this time at Hamersleben, Stoecker began to study such Socialists and economists as Marx, Lassalle, Adam Smith, and Rodbertus, thus moving out of the more narrow interpretation of society of Johann Wichern and the Protestant-Social movement.[3]

---

[1] Stoecker, as quoted by Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker, I, 51-2.

[2] Ibid., 39.

At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, Stoecker left Hammersleben to become chaplain to the troops at Metz. Here he faced the practical problems of having to minister not only to various Protestants, but to Catholics as well. Since, according to Stoecker, Christians could fight side by side for a common cause, they also should be able to worship in common community.[1] To this end, Stoecker expended much of his time as chaplain. Following the war, Stoecker became director and teacher in a Gymnasium at Metz, in addition to assuming some pastoral duties with the Inner Mission in that city.

---

[1] Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker, I, 71-2.

[2] Stoecker's first article in the Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung, hereafter cited as NEKZ, appeared in 1864 and dealt with his experiences and the situation in the Kurland region. Here he already sounds the note of the necessity of practical and active Christianity. Stoecker, a friend and correspondent of Professor Messner, the editor of NEKZ since 1858, began to assume some of the editorial work for this journal. Robert Stupperich's article "Adolf Stoecker Anfänge (nach ungedruckten Briefen und unbeachteten Aufsätzen)," Historische Zeitschrift, CCII, 2 (April, 1966), 309-332, becomes quite important in citing which essays and editorials are Stoecker's, since the NEKZ printed its articles without by-lines. Stoecker, at later dates, reprinted some of his articles but many are left nameless on the pages of the NEKZ. Some of the more important ones are: "Die Arbeiterfrage," (1869); a series on "Die Frauenfrage," (1870); "Die kirchliche Verfassungsreform," (1873); a series on "Die Bewegung auf socialem Gebiet," (1873); and a series "Zur socialen Frage," (1875).

[3] Volkmar Löber, "Hofprediger Adolf Stoecker," Die Innere Mission, XII (Dec., 1935), p. 333.

In large measure due to his exceptional patriotic fervor, that had become particularly manifest in his writings during the Franco-Prussian War, Stoecker was called to Berlin in 1874 to serve as court preacher. The Emperor, having read some of his more patriotic statements in the Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung, issued the call that brought Stoecker to the capital city.[2] Even though Stoecker began as the fourth court preacher in Berlin, he nevertheless considered his position "to be of great power and importance."[3] In the same year, Stoecker assumed an active role in the Berlin City Mission, part of the Inner Mission movement of Wichern.

---

[1] Stoecker, as quoted by Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker, I, 82-90.

[2] Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker, I, 94.

[3] Stoecker, as quoted by Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker, I, 94.

In 1877 he was made director of the City Mission.

During these early years in Berlin, Stoecker concluded that it was necessary to combine active social work with his pastoral duties.[1] Increasingly he was impressed with the needs and conditions of the urban masses, not only religious and moral needs, but also social and economic needs and problems of the workers. Stoecker decided, therefore, to use the City Mission as a means to reach these disestablished groups. His firsthand experiences with the working class made him even more conscious of the bitter struggle of these people for daily bread. Not only was he made aware of their deep alienation from the Church but also of the failure of the existing methods of preaching and pastoral care to reach these groups. He concurred with the sentiment of many workers that the charitable activities associated with the Church were only partial, as tokens, and completely inadequate.

As a Lutheran within an orthodox theological tradition, characterized according to Stoecker by individualism and Biblical pietism, he advocated certain theological and ecclesiastical modifications in order to accommodate an authentic response to the social problem, the problems of the urban workers, and to the revolutionary threats of the Social-Democrats. Stoecker's search for an authentic Christian response is evident in his question that appeared in the *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*: "Why is an exposition of the social perspective of the New Testament still lacking?"[1] Such modifications of pietistic and individualistic Christianity were not only necessary as a response to outside threats, but, according to Stoecker, necessary as a reaffirmation of authentic Christianity. The court preacher began his social formulations within the context of Wichern's Inner Mission movement but soon came to the realization that such a system of organized charity was neither sufficient nor appropriate as the Christian response to the social problems for it did not come to terms with the underlying social and political problems. It was obvious to him that the Churches, as well as the state, were losing the support of the working classes. A more radical social theory, including political action, was necessary. Rather than severing connections with the City Mission and his office as court preacher, Stoecker attempted to transform and use them to further political, social, and faithful Christianity. His position at the capital, and the apparent favor he enjoyed from the highest circles, encouraged him to take up political activity. He was appalled by the increasing secularization of German society and by the general indifference and hostility to the traditional values of the Prussian state. Stoecker, in an attempt to counter the trend of secularization, worked for a Christian state built upon the virtues of obedience and stability, one that inspired its rulers to take the disestablished classes under their wing.[1]

---

[1] One of the prize projects of Stoecker was the dissemination of the so-called "penny-sermons." These were reprints of his sermons especially for the masses. Some of the weekly additions reached 100,000 copies. Hans Brandenburg, _Adolf Stoecker, ein Kämpfer um Volk und Kirche_ (Lahr-Dinnlingen, /Baden/: St. Johannis-Druckerei, /C. Schweickhardt/, 1958), p. 78 and Oertzen, _Adolf Stoecker_, I, 289.

---

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Die Bewegung auf socialem Gebiet," *NEKZ*, XV, 46 (November 15, 1873), 731. This question became important as the stimulus for one of the most significant theoretical treatments of Christian-Socialism, Rudolf Todt's *Der radikale deutsche Socialismus und die christliche Gesellschaft. Versuch einer Derstellung des socialen Gehaltes des Christenthums und der socialen Aufgabe der christlichen Gesellschaft auf Grund einer Untersuchung des Neuen Testamentes* (2. Auflage; Wittenberg: Verlag von R. Herrose, 1878), first appearing in 1877. This question becomes the point in many interpretations of the Protestant-Social movement that is symptomatic of a shift from organized charity to the social and political approach.

The greatest fear of the court preacher was that the Social-Democrats, with their Marxist proclivities, would completely win over the masses to their revolutionary gospel, thus completely alienating the disestablished classes from both the Church and the state. Stoecker, feeling called to save his country from atheistic Marxism, concluded that only a competing political party founded for the purpose of social reform, based upon Christian and patriotic principles, could

---

1. Adolf Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," (Sept. 22, 1879), Christlich-sozial. Reden und Aufsätze (2. Auflage; Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1890), p. 181. Hereafter cited as Christlich-sozial.

foil the Social-Democrats. Such a party, Christian-Socialist Workers' Party, was organized and given its theoretical basis by Stoecker in 1878.[1] Stoecker was not the first Protestant conservative to agitate for social reform, e.g., Johann Wichern and Viktor Huber, but he was the first to take his social gospel to the masses.

The first real test of the strength of Stoecker's appeal came with the general election in the autumn of 1878. The Christian-Socialists contested for three of the six Reichstag seats from Berlin. The results were not only disappointing but a sound defeat of the new party.[2] The outcome of the 1879 election was little better. Such results were decisive for the future of the party.[1] The workers were suspicious of the new party, seeming to fear that the entire enterprise was an attempt to neutralize them politically. They had learned from the Social-Democrats that their salvation lay in the workers' movement alone. It was obvious after these elections that the party had little future with the workers. Stoecker, however, faired better than his party. In 1879, associated with the Conservatives, he was elected to the Westphalian House of Representatives.[2] Stoecker was also elected in 1880 to the Reichstag from Siegen, a loyalist and pietistic district in Westphalia. His platform was and remained, "Christianity, monarchy, Fatherland, and social reform."[3] He held this seat until 1893, and then again from 1898-1908.

---

[1] At the public meeting called to organize the new party, the Social-Democrats turned out in mass and tried to take over the meeting. Johann Most, the leader of the Berlin Social-Democrats, led the denunciation of the Church for having done so little to end poverty and misery, expressing confidence in Social Democracy as the only workers' party. The recommendation for a new party was passed but the meeting ended with one group singing "Ein feste Burg" and the other singing the "Marseillaise." For Stoecker's account of this meeting see: Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. xv-xx.

[2] The Progressives won 86,411 votes and five seats, the Social-Democrats some 60,000 votes and the sixth seat, the Conservatives got 12,196 votes, and the Christian-Socialists got only 1,422 votes. Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker, I, 174. According to Paul Göhre, by the end of 1878 the Christian-Socialist Party had some 3,000 members in Berlin, as well as groups throughout Germany. Die evangelisch-soziale Bewegung. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Ziele (Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Grunow, 1896), pp. 45-6.

---

[1] Stoecker noted in retrospect that after the initial dynamic surge of energy, the Christian-Socialist movement lost much of its drive, particularly after 1879. Adolf Stoecker, "Dreizehn Jahre Hofprediger und Politiker," (1895), Reden und Aufsätze, hrsg. von Reinhold Seeberg (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1913), p. 99.

[2] Of all the political parties, Stoecker felt the Conservatives were most compatible with his position. Liberals and Progressives advocated unrestricted or *laissez-faire* capitalism, while the Social-Democrats advocated revolution. Only with the Conservatives did he find a party sympathetic to Christianity, in favor of social order, strong state, and somewhat open to reformist measures. Adolf Stoecker, "Christlich-konservative Ziele für die Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 247-52.

[3] Adolf Stoecker, "Die Berliner Bewegung, ein Stück deutscher Erweckung," (1906), Reden und Aufsätze, p. 133.

Stoecker came to realization in 1878, that there were other groups beside the urban workers who had reason to feel disestablished, e.g., traders, artisans, shopkeepers, and lesser officials, groups that were loyal to the Church and state. These groups, susceptible to anti-Semitism as a panacea for their problems, began to fill the Christian-Socialist meetings. By March of 1878, Adolf Stoecker noted that there were more trade-workers and those from the lower middle classes than factory workers at his meetings.[1] During this time, Stoecker began to make anti-Semitic statements, nothing, however, that others had not said before.[2] Adolf Stoecker claimed that anti-Semitism was a natural expression of these oppressed peoples.[3] But once having made anti-Semitism part of his platform, even though he intended it to be only a subordinate part, he could never again renounce it.

Early in 1881, Stoecker's party officially discarded the designation of "Worker," becoming in practice, if not in

---

1. Adolf Stoecker, "Des Handwerks Not und Hülfe," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 31.

2. For example, anti-Semitic articles had appeared in the organs of conservatism and of the Center Party by 1875. The Kreuzzeitung had carried several stinging attacks on Jews and the "Jewish press" by that time. For a full development of the rise of anti-Semitism in Germany, see: Peter G. J. Pulzer, The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria, Norman F. Cantor, ed. ("New Dimensions in History: Essays in Comparative History"; New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), pp. 88-93.

3. Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 179.

ideology, a lower-middle class organization affiliated with the Conservative Party. Such affiliation with the Conservative Party, however, did not mean that Stoecker had lost his interest in the workers or in the social problem. For example, he was associated with the Protestant Workers' Union from its inception in 1882.[1]

By 1879 Stoecker had almost nothing to lose politically by turning to anti-Semitism for he had failed to gain an ear with the workers, and the liberal press, which he considered to be a "Jewish press," had been hostile to him from the beginning of his efforts to form a party.[2] Resenting not only his Christian perspective and his conservatism but also his social program, which threatened their interests, the press continued a barrage of attacks on Stoecker.[3] In some sense the virulent attacks from the "Jewish press," pushed him into a more aggressive anti-Semitic position.[4]

---

[1] For Stoecker's relation to Protestant Workers' Union and its programs, see: Paul Göhre, Die evangelisch-soziale Bewegung, pp. 109-20.

[2] Stoecker's first anti-Semitic speech was in September of 1879, at which time he pointed out that the Jews were actually a "foreign race" and "a state within a state." He claimed that there were some 45,000 Jews in Berlin alone, "far too many," with far too much influence. Adolf Stoecker, "Unsere Forderungen an das moderne Judentum," (Sept. 19, 1879), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 359-68.

[3] Many of these attacks from the so-called "Jewish press" are reprinted in the first volume of Oertzen's work on Stoecker.

[4] Pulzer, p. 94.

Stoecker, however, was not the only politician hawking anti-Semitism in Berlin.[1] Various of these anti-Semitic figures and groups found a cover organization in the Berlin Movement, a half-political, half-missionary body, made up of Christian-Socialists, conservative State-Socialists, and Conservatives.[2] As a social-reformist, anti-Semitic group, the fate of the Berlin Movement depended upon the support it could find with Bismarck. The Imperial Chancellor never considered the Jewish problem to be the most serious issue of the day, but in the political context of the early 1880's, he saw the advantage of a tactical alliance with anti-Semitism as one means of weakening both Liberalism and Socialism.[3] The elections of 1881, however, dealt the Conservative Central Committee, the political arm of the Berlin Movement, a severe blow. Anti-Semitism, although politically expedient for some particular campaigns, was not to become a national movement as of yet.

From his seat in the Reichstag, from the pulpits in Berlin, from various journals and pamphlets, Stoecker attacked, and was in turn attacked by, the Social-Democrats, Liberals, Jews, and what he considered to be a socially insensitive

---

[1] See, e.g.: Pulzer, pp. 96-101.

[2] For Stoecker's account of this group, see, "Die Berliner Bewegung, ein Stück deutscher Erweckung," Reden und Aufsätze, pp. 125-40.

[3] Pulzer, pp. 97-8.

Church, while advocating Christian-Socialism, conservative politics, nationalism, and a free peoples' Church involved in the social and political problems of the day. Stoecker was most certainly a public figure of conflict.

Emperor Wilhelm I attributed much of the stimulus for his famous social message, presented in 1881, to Stoecker's ideas and influence.[1] Prince Wilhelm, later Wilhelm II, was in sympathy with many of Stoecker's ideas and activities during the 1880's. Bismarck, having initially tolerated Stoecker as a possible means of dividing the Socialist forces, succeeded in discrediting the court preacher in the eyes of the Prince before he assumed the throne in June of 1888.[2]

---

1. Reinhold Seeberg, "Adolf Stoecker als geschichtliche Persönlichkeit," *Reden und Aufsätze*, p. 7.

2. Bismarck's attitude toward Stoecker can be seen in a letter written in response to that of Prince Wilhelm, in December of 1887, in which the Prince expressed his regrets that Bismarck was not in sympathy with Stoecker's interests for "the poorer classes of our people," and especially in the City Mission. Bismarck's response, written in January of 1888, was: "I have nothing against Stoecker; he had for me only one defect as a politician: namely, that he is a priest; and as a priest his only fault is that he dabbles in politics. I can take pleasure in his courage and energy, and his eloquence, but he has an unlucky hand; the results which he obtains are only momentary; he is not able to establish them permanently; every equally good speaker, and there are such, snatches them from him; it will be impossible to separate him from the Home Mission, and his ready wit assures him of an authoritative influence therein over his colleagues and the lay members. Certainly, he has hitherto acquired a reputation which he will find more and more difficult to increase and maintain . . . every power in the State is stronger without him than with him, but in the arena of party conflict he is a Samson. He is at the head of those elements which are in flat opposition to the traditions of Frederich the Great, and

In the 1880's Stoecker's bold political and social activities and speeches, as well as his Christian-Socialist position, could not but create enemies and opponents, not the least of whom were Bismarck and the Emperor. In 1890 the Emperor dismissed Stoecker from his position as court preacher in Berlin.[1] In the same year, Stoecker helped found, with Adolf Harnack, Friedrich Naumann, and others, the Protestant-Social Congress, a united front for the study of the social problem and for Christian social activity. In 1893 he lost his seat in the Reichstag and with it most of his political influence. Even though he eventually regained his seat, he was not able to regain the political influence he had wielded earlier. By 1896 Stoecker and the remainder of the Christian-Socialist contingent were forced out of the Conservative Party. The Prussian landowners and industrialists, the backbone of the Conservative Party, would no longer tolerate his reformatory ideas and Stoecker's siding with the agrarian and factory

---

on which a government of the German Empire could place no dependence. With his press and his little tale of supporters he had made life burdensome to me and has made the great Conservative Party insecure and disunited. But the Home Mission is a soil from which he, like the giant Antaeus, will continually draw fresh strength, and on which he will be invincible . . . ." Otto E. L. von Bismarck, New Chapters of Bismarck's Autobiography, trans. by Bernard Miall (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1920), 16-40.

[1] Stoecker felt his dismissal from his position as court preacher in Berlin was unjustified. He saw this action to be the result of a conflict of interests. Stoecker, "Dreizehn Jahre Hofprediger und Politiker," Reden und Aufsätze, p. 59.

workers against the propertied classes. Thus, due primarily to his social concerns, Stoecker was alienated from his political base. During the same time, Stoecker reconstituted the Christian-Socialist Party along the lines of 1878, but by this time, the program was not only dated but bore little relation to the changing reality of the social problem.[1] Also during the 1890's the Church roundly repudiated his involvement in the social and political arena, and for removing the Church from the "religious realm" of the cure and care of souls.[2] He had thus antagonized both the Church and state by advocating a Church free from state control, active in the political and social issues of the nation. Many of the younger Christian-Socialists, and most notably those grouped with Friedrich Naumann, had moved to a more radical social and liberal theological position, and by 1896 had abandoned the leadership of Stoecker. Under the leadership of such persons as Harnack and the younger Christian-Socialists, the Protestant-Social Congress moved to positions and activities that Stoecker could not tolerate or support, especially their challenge to conservative-paternalistic socialism. In 1896, therefore, Stoecker countered this trend by removing himself and his group from these Congresses and established the Free Church-Social Conference under his control.

---

[1] The 1895 program of the Christian-Socialist Party differed only slightly from the 1878 program. The emphasis was shifted from the workers to all disestablished classes. The anti-Semitic position that emerged following the 1878 program was incorporated into the 1895 program. The Eisenacher Program, as the 1895 statement is known, can be found reprinted in Okke Norel, *Adolf Stoecker en zijn sociaal-ethisch streven* (Utrecht: Kemink and Zoon, 1914), pp. 209-13., also in Paul Göhre, *Die evangelisch-soziale Bewegung*, pp. 95-8.

[2] See, e.g.: Oertzen, *Adolf Stoecker*, I, 402-30, and II, *passim*. Stoecker's reaction to the Church's repudiation can be found in "Dreizehn Johre Hofprediger und Politiker," *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 54-124.

The 1890's had seen the rather rapid decline of Stoecker's prestige, so that by 1896 Stoecker was almost without influence, as the Emperor's telegram so graphically indicated. Stoecker's influence had been crushed by opposition from all sides. Between the fateful year of 1896 and that of his death in 1909, Stoecker was awarded an honorary doctorate of theology by the University of Griefswald, participated in several German Labor Congresses, Church synods, and Christian-Socialist gatherings, but in an honorary capacity. It is almost ironic that the staunch monarchist suffered political defeat at the hands of the very persons he sought to serve, and that the outspoken Churchman was obstructed and abandoned by the Lutheran establishment.[1] By the time of his death, Stoecker was a forgotten old man. History had moved much faster than Stoecker was able to keep pace. The once creative and imaginative reformer, who had lifted up the political and social aspects of the Christian response to the social problem, was simply unable to move with the rapidly changing times. In that sense he was a tragic figure. But then Stoecker was also a figure of transition, for just as he had radicalized the Protestant-Social movement of Wichern, Huber, and Todt, his position was advanced and modified by the next generation of Christian-Socialists.

---

[1] Stoecker had threats of disciplinary action from the President of the Protestant Church Council, Dr. Hermes, for his political and social activity and for his anti-Semitic position, as early as 1880. Walter Frank, _Hofprediger Adolf Stoecker und die christlich soziale Bewegung_ (2. Auflage.; Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1935), p. 86. In 1904 Stoecker perceptively concluded that the established Church was not yet ready for Christian-Socialism or its involvement in society. But he nevertheless considered the movement to be of great significance for (1) it had been somewhat effective and influential in bringing about certain social reforms, (2) it had helped bring the social problem into the forefront and opened up several important avenues of discussion, and (3) it

Survey of the Major Interpretations of Adolf Stoecker

Such a figure of conflict would naturally be interpreted from varying perspectives and would be given differing historical significance. It is quite fitting that the first major treatment of Stoecker was a rather violent polemic against the man, his activities, and particularly his position. Franz Mehring, viewing Stoecker from within the perspective of the German Socialists, was sharply critical

---

had brought certain sections of the Church into social involvement and political activities. Adolf Stoecker, "Christlich-sozial, evangelisch-sozial, kirchlich-sozial," (1904), Reden und Aufsätze, pp. 166-68.

of the Christian-Socialist perspective of Stoecker.[1] Using Stoecker as a foil, Mehring sought to present a case for an authentic Socialist position. For example, according to Mehring, one could not be a Christian and be involved in political agitation, for the message of Jesus was totally otherworldly and thus without political significance.[2] The brunt of Mehring's criticism fell on Stoecker's Christian based social position, his anti-Semitism, nationalism, and conservatism. Stoecker was presented as politically and socially naive, who played into the hands of the Bismarckian and clerical establishment. Mehring pictured Stoecker as a demagogue almost without equal. Even though Stoecker had been called "a true man of God," "the second Luther," "the jewel of the German people," in actuality, according to Mehring, he was a man "of iron impudence," characterized by a "deceiving tongue," "completely ignorant of his times," "a vain, malicious megalomanic."[3]

Such virulent attacks upon the court preacher prompted several major apologetic treatments from within the Stoecker circle. Dietrich von Oertzen, a disciple of Stoecker, produced an 800 page laudatory biography of his mentor.[1] Oertzen presented a descriptive account of Stoecker, seeming to relish all sorts of detailed information about the man and his activities, particularly letters and newspaper articles dealing with Stoecker and the behind the scenes conflicts at Church synods and assemblies. Not only is there very little analytical or critical-interpretative elements in this work, but Oertzen even tended to "white-wash" some of the more controversial positions and activities of Stoecker, e.g., his anti-Semitic position. He did not acknowledge the influence of previous Christian social thinkers upon Stoecker, thus giving the impression that Stoecker was much more original than he actually was. He correctly portrayed Stoecker as a figure of conflict, but incorrectly viewed these conflicts in simplistic terms of good and evil, identifying Stoecker with the "good" forces while relegating his opponents to the "evil." Oertzen dealt only in a minimal way with the Christian-Socialist position of Stoecker, preferring instead to report the day by day activities of the court preacher. In this presentation, Stoecker appeared as the hero of the German Protestant Church, fighting like a knight in shining armor against the fiery dragons of Judaism, Socialism, and Liberalism.

---

[1] Franz Mehring, Herr Hofprediger Stöcker der Socialpolitiker. Eine Streitschrift (Bremen: C. Schunemann's Verlag, 1882).

[2] Ibid., p. 13.

[3] Ibid., p. 102.

---

[1] Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker. This work is an expansion of an earlier book by the same title, published in 1909. Since most of this work is a reprinting of Stoecker's own words within the framework of a detailed biography, it becomes a valuable source book. Unfortunately much of the material is cited without revealing the source.

A similar interpretation of Stoecker was written by Max Braun, a fellow worker with Stoecker in the Berlin City Mission.[1] Braun considered the work accomplished by the court preacher in the City Mission to be his major contribution, as well as the key to the man and his social positions. Braun correctly pointed out that such work was an outgrowth of Stoecker's primary concern with the "public life" of the German people, i.e., the attempt to make the Christian Church an effective social force in the world. Braun's treatment differed slightly from that of Oertzen in that he was more concerned with the popularity of Stoecker than with the various conflicts that embroiled the court preacher. Stoecker's preaching was not only impressive, according to Braun, but very influential.[2] Braun was one of the earliest within the Stoecker-circle to point out explicitly the inner conflict and contradictions in Stoecker, between a conservative political perspective and a Christian-Socialist position. The director of the Berlin City Mission was presented as one who dealt openly with the evils in the government, the Church, and society. Braun compared Stoecker to Elijah as "a fighter and a prophet."[1] He compared Stoecker to Luther in that he called the Church "out of the monastery into the world of the social problem."[2] A similar biographical treatment came from the pen of one of Stoecker's Dutch followers, Okke Norel.[3] Norel's biographical narrative was presented from the perspective of Stoecker's over-all influence on the social ethical position of the Protestant Church.

---

[1] Max Braun, _Adolf Stoecker_ (3. Auflage; Berlin: Verlag der Vaterländischen Verlags- und Kunstanstalt, 1912). Braun's work, like that of Oertzen's, contains many selections from Stoecker, again without citation.

[2] Braun, p. 78.

In addition to these early apologetic treatments, there are two other general perspectives from which interpretations of Stoecker have been made. One viewed Stoecker primarily as a Churchman and theologian, while the other presented Stoecker as a social-politician. A survey of this material will be beneficial not only in gaining access to the scope of previous interpretations, as well as the collective insights and misunderstandings of Adolf Stoecker, but also as a backdrop upon which a study of Stoecker's alternative to Marxist Socialism can be made.

Among the earliest of the interpreters viewing Stoecker as a Churchman and theologian was a disciple of the court

---

1. Braun, p. 268.
2. *Ibid*., p. 97.
3. Norel, *Adolf Stoecker*.

preacher, Ernst Bunke.[1] To Bunke, the key to understanding Stoecker and his position was his fight for a free peoples' Church (*freie Volkskirche*). Stoecker was presented as an example of the ideal Churchman and the pious Christian, "truly a young Martin Luther."[2] To Bunke, Stoecker was a "prophet of the Church," who struggled to find the appropriate Christian response to the social problem, which he identified as the decisive question of the future of mankind.[3] Stoecker became the primary voice, according to this interpretation, in the endeavor to save the German people from the perils of a revolutionary and secular age. Bunke credited the Emperor's social message of 1881 as a clear victory for Stoecker.[4]

A similar interpretation of Stoecker the Churchman was given in Reinhold Seeberg's essay on Adolf Stoecker as an historical figure.[5] Seeberg pictured Stoecker as a Christian man of great courage, who in spite of the conservative theological and ecclesiastical context, spoke out forcefully on social and political issues. His preaching, his Church work, and his theology were all seen as expressions of a basic social concern. Seeberg claimed that Stoecker was one of the earliest to understand that the Church and theology were inseparable from social work and social ideas. He viewed the significance of Stoecker to be the popularization of a "Biblical-socialism" that saw "the Church for the people and the people for the Church."[1] To Seeberg, Stoecker was "a great man" who fulfilled a significant function in the growing development of the German Church.[2]

---

[1] Ernst Bunke, *Adolf Stoecker. Ein Kämpfer für Kirche und Volk*, durchgesehen und erweitert von Hermann Bunke (2. Auflage; "Zeugen des Gegenwärtigen Gottes," 137/138; Giessen und Basel: Brunnen-Verlag, 1959). Much of the material for this book came from Ernst Bunke, *Adolf Stoecker, Erinnerungs-Blätter* (Berlin: /publisher not given/, 1909). This work contains many quotations without citation. Ernst Bunke, "Der Mann der Kirche," *Adolf Stoecker. Der Herold für Volk und Kirche* (Berlin: Hochweg Verlag, 1935), pp. 34-57.

[2] Bunke, "Der Mann," p. 56.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 35.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 40.

[5] Seeberg, "Adolf Stoecker als geschichtliche Persönlichkeit," *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 1-26.

Another laudatory treatment, in a similar vein as Bunke, that pictured Stoecker as an example of piety, was that of Walter Thieme.[3] Stoecker was presented as a pastor in "holy opposition" against the sins in both individual and community life. As a figure of conflict, Stoecker combatted the forces of evil to reestablish "a Christian Germany."[4] The Berlin City Mission and Inner Mission movement were the primary forms through which "Christian service" would accomplish

---

1. Seeberg, p. 23.

2. _Ibid_., p. 26.

3. Walter Thieme, "Der Mann der Inneren Mission," _Adolf Stoecker_. _Der Herold für Volk und Kirche_, pp. 58-80.

4. Thieme, p. 64.

such a conversion of the nation. According to this interpreter, Stoecker sought to fuse the life of the German people with the Word of God, in order to struggle against the various enemies of Christianity.[1]

Friedrich Brunstäd, one of the more important interpreters, emphasized the theological aspects of Stoecker the Churchman.[2] Admitting that Stoecker was not original as a theologian, Brunstäd still contended that he anticipated much of neo-orthodox theology of the early twentieth century.[3] Brunstäd tended to make Stoecker into a much more systematic theologian and thinker than he was in actuality. Even so, he presented a penetrating analysis of the ideological and theological context that informed much of Stoecker's thinking. He concluded that the primary significance of Stoecker was as a Churchman involved within the political-social arena, i.e., Stoecker was seen to deal with the issues of faith, theology, and Church work from the perspective and understanding of the social problem. Even though Brunstäd did not deal with Stoecker's struggle with the Marxist-

---

[1] Thieme, p. 64.

[2] Friedrich Brunstäd, *Adolf Stoecker; Wille und Schicksal* (Berlin: Wichern-Verlag, 1935). Friedrich Brunstäd, "Adolf Stoecker als Theologe," *Gesammelte Aufsätze und kleinere Schriften* (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1957), pp. 287-302. This is a reprint of an article that appeared in *Luthertum* (1935), 321-42.

[3] Brunstäd, "Adolf Stoecker als Theologe," p. 288.

Socialist perspective in any comprehensive way, preferring instead to deal with Stoecker's theology in more systematic and abstract terms, nevertheless he was aware that much of Stoecker's theologizing was done in conflict with other positions and for the purpose of some practical or pragmatic action.

Also in 1935, Wilhelm Meyer, in a similarly theological treatment of Stoecker, centered his discussion on Stoecker's conception of the Church and its relation to the state.[1] In large measure, Meyer's work was a theological exposition of Stoecker's collection of articles and essays on the Church and Church politics, _Wach' auf evangelisches Volk!_[2] It was Meyer's contention that Stoecker was essentially correct in his belief that the social problem should be not only the primary concern of the Church but also the fundamental factor determining the form of the Church. Thus according to Meyer, it was at the point of the concept of the nature and mission of the Church that Stoecker deviated from Luther. While Luther was primarily interested in theological bases for the Church, Stoecker was concerned about the form and activity of the Church in the world.[1]

---

[1] Wilhelm Meyer, _Evangelische Kirche und deutscher Staat in der Gegenwart nach evangelisch-reformatorischen Grundsätzen im Anschluss an Adolf Stöcker_ (Dissertation; Universität Bonn; Bonn: Gehr. Scheur, 1935).

[2] Adolf Stoecker, _Wach' auf evangelisches Volk! Aufsätze über Kirche und Kirchenpolitik_ (Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1893).

Walter Wendland, relying heavily upon previous treatments of Stoecker, took issue with the distinction made between inactive traditional Lutheranism and the Church conception of Stoecker.[2] Stoecker's idea of the Church, as an active, vital community involved in the social problems of the day, arose as a result of a struggle with unbelief and secularism. Because of the different circumstances, a modified, but not completely different, understanding of the Church was necessary.[3] Much of Wendland's treatment centered on the Church synods and ecclesiastical politics during the period of Stoecker's activity.

Siegfried Kaehler, in a biographical article dealing with Stoecker's work as a Church-politician, asserted that Stoecker's greatest achievement was the Berlin City Mission.[4]

---

1. Meyer, p. 12.

2. Walter Wendland, "Beiträge zu den kirchenpolitischen Kämpfen um Adolf Stoecker," _Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte_, XXXI (1936), 139-88. This article contains important bibliographical references on Church synods and general ecclesiastical history.

3. Wendland, p. 168.

4. Siegfried A. Kaehler, "Adolf Stoecker 1835-1909," _Studien zur deutschen Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Aufsätze und Vorträge_, hrsg. von Walter Bussmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 184-203. This essay is a reprint from _Die Grossen Deutschen. Neue Deutsche Biographie_, hrsg. von Willy Andreas und Wilhelm von Scholz (4 vols.; Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1936), IV, 179-99.

Kaehler saw Stoecker's work as an "apostolate to the common man."[1] Kaehler presented Stoecker as almost a double personality--the Christian-man and the political-man. In actual fact, this treatment of Stoecker seems to reveal more about Kaehler, particularly his suspicion that Christianity and politics are a questionable mixture, than it does about Stoecker. In an earlier article that includes many of the same themes, Kaehler treated Stoecker's attempt to form a Christian-Socialist Workers' Party.[2] In this interpretation, Kaehler found Stoecker's pragmatism and practical bent plus such outside pressures as international Socialism, political opposition to traditional German ideals, and a state controlled Church to be the factors causing the formation of such a party. Kaehler viewed Stoecker as "a great peoples' pastor" and the real basis of his political activity to be pastoral concern.[3]

Rather than placing the emphasis of his account on the Berlin City Mission or on a theological position, Detlev von Walter saw Stoecker as one of the more important advocates of a free people's Church.[1] Walter concurred with others in this line of interpretation that Stoecker considered the primary task of the Protestant Church to be the coming to terms with the social problem.[2] Like Meyer, Walter's concern was with Stoecker's conception of the nature and mission of the Church, again relying heavily upon Stoecker's _Wach' auf evangelisches Volk!_ He claimed that it was Stoecker's insight to see the problem and danger in Protestantism to be individualism.[3] Walter asserted that Stoecker's motive for the free peoples' Church was to create a great "peoples' movement" of the German-Christian spirit for a new reformation of the nation and for winning back the vast masses for the Church.[4]

---

[1] Kaehler, p. 193.

[2] Siegfried Kaehler, "Stöckers Versuch, eine christlich-soziale Arbeiterpartei in Berlin zu begründen (1878)," Deutscher Staat und Deutsche Parteien. Beiträge zur Deutschen Partei und Ideengeschichte. Friedrich Meinecke Festschrift, hrsg. von Paul Wentzcke (München und Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1922), pp. 227-65.

[3] Kaehler, "Stöckers Versuch," p. 242.

Günther Minia also presented an exposition of Stoecker's analysis of the social problem and his proposed solution of a revitalized peoples' Church.[5] Minia's study was primarily a collection of quotations, particularly from the _Wach' auf evangelisches Volk!_ According to Minia, the difficulty in interpreting Stoecker lies in the person and character of the man.[1] He viewed Stoecker as a "Romantic" and a "Schwärmer."[2] The primary objective of Stoecker, according to this interpretation, was to fill the Germany of the Reformation with a new religious spirit.[3]

---

[1] Detlev von Walter, _Die freie Volkskirche als Ziel Adolf Stöckers_ (Dissertation; Universität Rostock; Teildr.; Rostock i. Meckl.: Beckmann, 1937).

[2] Walter, p. 8.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 17.

[4] _Ibid_., pp. 40-41.

[5] Günther Minia, _Die Bedeutung des Hof- und Dompredigers Adolf Stoecker für das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert_ (Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei Union, GmbH., 1944). This volume is particularly valuable for its bibliographical material.

Another attempt to deal with Stoecker's conception of the Church, also dependent upon Stoecker's Wach' auf evangelisches Volk!, was that of Helmuth Schreiner.[4] In this significant study, Schreiner deviated somewhat from previous treatments of Stoecker's conception of the Church by making a distinction between the "young" and "old Stoecker." The latter appeared after 1890, i.e., after losing most of his political and social influence, and it was during this time, according to Schreiner, that the advocacy of the free peoples' Church became most pronounced. Schreiner pictured Stoecker as an enigma, whose position was a strange mixture of ultra-conservatism and modern social-consciousness.[5] Schreiner maintained that Stoecker's primary contribution was in the social-political arena yet he dealt for the most part with

---

1. Minia, p. 12.

2. Ibid., p. 26.

3. Ibid., p. 70.

4. Helmuth Schreiner, Macht und Dienst. Adolf Stoeckers Kampf um die Freiheit der Kirche (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1951).

5. Schreiner, p. 89.

Stoecker the Churchman and theologian.[1] Stoecker, according to this interpretation, struggled against the spread of Marxism not only because it was a political and social threat but because it was a religious and moral problem, one that attacked the very heart and soul of the German nation.[2] Concerned primarily with Stoecker the Churchman and Church-politician, Schreiner presented the work of the court preacher in politics and Christian-Socialism as "Christian mission." He viewed Stoecker's dismissal in 1890 to be tragic for both the Empire and for the Emperor.[3] According to Schreiner, it is clearly a misinterpretation to see Stoecker as a forerunner of National Socialism.[4]

A popularized version of the common theme of Stoecker as an advocate of the free peoples' Church was presented by Hans Brandenburg.[5] In this rather uncritical treatment, Stoecker again became the example of pious faith and the true Churchman. According to the theme developed by Brandenburg, Stoecker sought to utilize a prophetic social-consciousness to change Christianity from a private piety of duty to a

---

1. Schreiner, p. 12.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
5. Brandenburg, *Adolf Stoecker*.

mobilized social force within the public domain.[1]

Generally one can characterize the interpretations that see Stoecker as a religious figure as sympathetic to Stoecker. Often he is used for didactic purposes as an ideal Churchman and pious Christian.[2] The idea of Stoecker as the "second Luther" prevails as a common theme.[3] Stoecker's confrontation with the German Marxists is not dealt with in any substantial way, this group of interpreters preferring instead the questions of theology, Church polity, and Church-state relations. Clearly this is a reflection of the overriding concern of many of these authors seeking to answer these questions in light of the rise of the Third Reich.[4] Stoecker, functioning under similar authoritarian conditions, was used as a paradigm of one means of the Church's association to the state. The relation of Christianity and patriotism was the burning issue that seemed to underlie many of these treatments of Stoecker. Stoecker's anti-Semitism was generally treated from a detached point of view, seemingly to indicate that this issue was not integral to the primary question of Church-state relations. Even though Stoecker was credited as being a theologian and ideologue, he was presented primarily as a Churchman of practical action attempting to implement a social consciousness in the Church against the prevailing stance of individualism and pietism.[1] Stoecker's concern for the "public life" of the German people, therefore, was one of the common threads running through these interpretations.

---

[1] Brandenburg, pp. 93-4.

[2] This theme is most pronounced in: Ernst Bunke, Reinhold Seeberg, Walter Thieme, Siegfried Kaehler, and Hans Brandenburg.

[3] The idea of Stoecker as the "second Luther" is particularly evident in Ernst Bunke, Reinhold Seeberg, and Hans Brandenburg.

[4] This concern is most pronounced in Walter Thieme, Wilhelm Meyer, Detlev von Walter, and Günther Minia.

Another group of Stoecker interpreters have begun from the common assumption that Stoecker was essentially a social politician, generally playing down, therefore, Stoecker the Churchman and theologian. Paul Göhre, a co-worker with Friedrich Naumann and secretary of the Protestant-Social Congress from 1891-94, was the first important interpreter of the political movements of the Protestant-Social movement.[1] Göhre's rather perceptive analysis of the rise of Christian-Socialism was from a political perspective. Göhre saw Stoecker as the social politician who misdirected the Protestant-Social movement by allying it with anti-Semitism and conservative political forces. In tracing the movement from Wichern, through Huber and Todt, to Stoecker and Naumann, Stoecker's major contribution was seen to be the politicizing and popularizing of the Protestant-Social movement, making it a political force in public problems.[1] According to Göhre, Stoecker's program was a "mixture of modern and antiquated, of radical and reactionary elements," and thus of only limited significance.[2]

---

[1] Paul Göhre, Die evangelisch-soziale Bewegung. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Ziele (Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Grunow, 1896). Göhre uses many quotations without citing the source.

Arthur Bonus, reacting to the rather tragic view of Stoecker presented by Göhre asserted that Stoecker was "a perfect transition-type," in that he was able to combine the proletarian and the paterialistic, ruling-class perspectives.[3] Generally appreciative of Stoecker's social work, Bonus saw the court preacher as symbolic of a new principle of self-understanding under the conditions of a particular time, yet capable of changing these conditions.[4] For Bonus the Stoecker-Naumann period was analogous to the sixteenth century Reformation, in that a new form, spirit, and power was given to the process of the germanization of Christianity.[5]

Gertrud Traeder, dealing with the sources of Stoecker's program, saw the key to Stoecker's social-political position in his efforts to combine individualism and solidarity into a meaningful and workable synthesis, and this epitomized in the 1878 program.[1] According to this interpretation, Stoecker moved from a belief in natural and divine orders to establish a moral and religious basis for his political attempt to renew the Church and German society.

---

[1] Gohre, p. 100.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 107.

[3] Arthur Bonus, *Von Stoecker zu Naumann, ein Wort zur Germanisierung des Christentums* (Heilbronn, Eugen Salzer, 1896), p. 3.

[4] Bonus, p. 9.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 84.

A picture of Stoecker as a classic Christian patriot was painted by Günther Dehn.[2] According to Dehn, the name of Stoecker is "eternally linked with the theme of the Church and the proletarians."[3] Dehn made an important distinction between the Stoecker of 1878, as the key figure in the Christian-Socialist Workers' Party, and the Stoecker after 1880, as the head of the Christian-Socialist Party. That is, in seeking to find a viable political base, Stoecker had to move out of the sphere of the workers and into that of the middle and upper-class conservatives. Stoecker, according to this interpretation, cast his social-political reform program in the form of Christian apologetics.[4] Stoecker was presented in comparison with Walter Rauschenbusch, particularly in terms of the politicizing and socializing of Christianity.

---

[1] Gertrud Traeder, _Die sozialpolitischen Anschauungen Adolf Stöckers nach dem christlich-sozialen Arbeiter-Programm von 1878_ (Dissertation; Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität zu Bonn; Barmen: Montanus und Ehrenstein, 1920).

[2] Günther Dehn, "Adolf Stoecker," _Zwischen den Zeiten_, VIII (1924), 26-48.

[3] Dehn, p. 27.

[4] _Ibid_., p. 33.

Picking up a similar theme, the thesis of Paul Hübner was that Stoecker sought the solution of the social problem in the sphere of a religiously based social ethics to be implemented through political activity.[1] Hübner, presenting a significant study tracing the development of social ethics from Luther to Wichern, saw in Stoecher a new social-ethical perspective. Hübner dealt in only a limited fashion with Stoecker's critique of the Marxist perspective, except as it related to Stoecker's conception of authentic community. He relied heavily on the young Stoecker and the collection of essays from that period, _Christlich-sozial_.[2] According to this interpreter, quite sympathetic to Stoecker's position, it was not that Stoecker did not grasp his times, a common charge leveled at the court preacher, but that his times could not grasp the significance of Stoecker.[3] For Hübner, Stoecker was the first real German Christian social reformer.

---

[1] Paul Gerhard Hübner, _Die sozialethischen Anschauungen Adolf Stöckers in genetischer und systematischer Darstellung_ (Dissertation; Universität Greifswald; Wittenberg: Herrose and Ziemsen, Gmbh., 1929).

[2] Adolf Stoecker, _Christlich-sozial_. The first edition of this work appeared in 1885. Most of the material in this collection is from the period of 1878-79.

[3] Hübner, p. 90.

From a perspective sympathetic to national-socialism, Paul LeSeur, Stoecker's successor as head of the Berlin City Mission, saw in Stoecker the seeds of the Third Reich.[1] More than just Stoecker's anti-Semitism, LeSeur found in the court preacher an authoritarian conservatism and a nationalism fighting against the threats of radical socialism, liberalism, and republicanism. He also found an intense concern for the welfare of the whole nation in Stoecker, as in his advocacy of state-intervention and protection, and this LeSeur identified with national-socialism.

The short but penetrating study of Karl Veidt attempted to make a case for the significance of Stoecker as the first in the German Protestant-Social movement to understand the meaning and import of practical political activity.[2] According to Veidt, no other man in the Protestant Church of that time, provided such an impetus for the change of the more traditional Protestant stance of an atomistic-pietistic ethics to a social-political ethics. But then no other figure in the German Protestant Church created so much conflict and "generated so much love and hatred."[3] This study was particularly concerned with the motivations that led Stoecker into the arena of concrete social and political activities. The legacy of Stoecker, according to Veidt, was not only the socialization of Christianity but also the attempt to maintain a proper relationship between the state and a socially oriented Church.[1] The "national-socialist" treatment of Stoecker is that of Walter Frank.[2] Frank presented Stoecker as the great "leader and tribune of the people," emphasizing his role as politician rather than that of preacher, in spite of the title of the work.[3] In this political study, Frank was concerned with Stoecker's use of anti-Semitism as a political force. It was, then, the "Jewish question" rather than the social or ecclesiastical problems that received the most attention. Frank was not so much concerned with Stoecker the Christian-Socialist as he was with the Stoecker after 1890, the conservative, nationalistic politician. Essentially Frank's book is a political study of the time, with Stoecker as the connecting link. Even given the predilections of the author, this work remains a substantial and significant study of Stoecker's political activity and its impact on the German nation. Frank was careful not to overplay or misconstrue Stoecker's anti-Semitism, making a clear distinction between social and economic anti-Semitism and blatant racism.

---

[1] Paul LeSeur, Adolf Stoecker, der Prophet des Dritten Reiches (Berlin: Hochweg-Verlag, 1933).

[2] Karl Veidt, "Der Politiker," Adolf Stoecker. Der Herold für Volk und Kirche, pp. 1-33.

[3] Veidt, p. 3.

---

[1] Veidt, p. 33.

[2] Walter Frank, Hofprediger Adolf Stoecker. The first edition of this work appeared in 1928. Frank reprinted a number of important sources and documents. Walter Frank, "Hofprediger Stöcker," Preussische Jahrbücher, CCI, I (July-Sept., 1925), pp. 56-81. This article presented in capsule form many of the same themes that appeared in his book. Frank often used quotations from Stoecker without citing the reference.

[3] Frank, p. 54.

One of the more controversial treatments to appear in 1935 is that of Gerhard Malbeck.[1] Malbeck, tending to overestimate the significance and nature of Stoecker's anti-Semitism, concluded that Stoecker, as the first great leader of German anti-Semitism, provided the impetus for a movement that received its ultimate shape and form with Adolf Hitler.[2] One problem with Malbeck is that he credited Stoecker with such an impetus and yet asserted that Stoecker reflected the anti-Semitic sentiments of his times. Malbeck made the necessary distinction between moderate anti-Semitism, i.e., religious, economic, and social anti-Semitism, and radical anti-Semitism, i.e., racism, but generally neglected to differentiate between the moderate position held by Stoecker and the tradition of radical anti-Semitism that was eventually personified in Hitler. Malbeck offered a considerable amount of evidence in an attempt to substantiate his claim that Jews monopolized many of the newspapers and journals during this period of time.

---

[1] Gerhard Malbeck, *Der Einfluss des Judentums auf die Berliner Presse von 1800-1879. Ein Nachweis der Berechtigung des Auftretens Adolf Stoeckers gegen die Verjudung der Berliner Presse.* (Dissertation, Universität Leipzig; Dresden: Dittert, 1935). In 1935, the 100th anniversary of Stoecker's birth, there were a number of articles published in addition to those cited above. Those worthy of mention would include Friedrich Hagenmeister, "Adolf Stöcker," *Soziale Praxis*, XLIV, Heft 16 (1935), 464-70, which was a concise treatment of Stoecker's social and political thought and action. Volkmar Löber's article "Hofprediger Adolf Stoecker," was particularly concerned with Stoecker as the Church politician and his theological and ideological position. An article dealing with the frustrations and failure of Stoecker the Christian politician was that of Hans Lindel, "Der Politiker Stoecker (äussere und innere Gründe seines Scheiterns)," *Wort und Tat*, Heft 12 (1935), 359-65.

[2] Malbeck, p. 7.

Arnold Poepke, concentrating on the younger Stoecker, analyzed the Christian-Socialist position from a political and economic point of view.[1] Poepke was particularly interested in Stoecker's critique of the Social-Democrats and the Jews. Even though Poepke recognized that for Stoecker the social problem and the Jewish question were essentially ethical and religious problems, he treated both under the broader rubric of Kulturfrage. Stoecker's social conceptions were seen to be the result of practical work and necessity.[2] For Poepke, Stoecker became a universal figure fighting for social justice for the common man.[3] Because of the character and quality of Poepke's analysis, this work becomes particularly important for the study of Stoecker's alternative to the German Marxists.

---

[1] Arnold Poepke, Der christliche Sozialismus Adolf Stoeckers (Dissertation, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin; Würzburg: Richard Mayr, 1938).

[2] Poepke, p. ii.

[3] Ibid., p. 107.

In a study by Karl Kupisch in which he attempted to trace the historical movement from German Pietism to German Communism, Stoecker was seen as one of the crucial figures.[1] Kupisch considered the significance of Stoecker to be both as a preacher who spoke out on social issues and as a political agitator working for the workers and for the Fatherland. Kupisch's real interest was in Stoecker's political views and activities, as "the Church's truest fighter for the monarchy of the Hohenzollern."[2] Political agitation, then, was seen to be the real contribution of Stoecker to the Protestant-Social movement.[3] In a later work, Kupisch included a section on Stoecker's political activity, in which he discussed Stoecker's attempt to find a theological-political solution to deal with the social problems of his day.[4] Kupisch considered this attempt to be tragic, for Stoecker was unable to implement his social sensitivity into effective social and political action. Similar themes were restated in Kupisch's more recent treatment of Stoecker, in which he considered Stoecker's political activity to be a fiasco.[1] He reemphasized the fact that Stoecker was bound to the conservative tradition, as evident from his static concept of community and general paternalistic socialism. He regarded Stoecker's attempt to bring the working classes back into the established social structure as reactionary.[2]

---

[1] Karl Kupisch, "Hofprediger und Volkstribun. Adolf Stoeckers Ringen mit den Mächten seiner Zeit," _Vom Pietismus zum Kommunismus_ (Berlin: Lettner Verlag, 1953), pp. 151-88.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 188.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 164.

[4] Karl Kupisch, "Adolf Stoeckers politischer Anlauf," _Kirche und soziale Frage im 19. Jahrhundert_, hrsg. von Karl Barth und Max Geiger ("Theologische Studien. Eine Schriftenreihe," Heft 73; Zürich: EVZ-Verlag, 1963), pp. 20-25.

Erich Thier, in a study of the response of the Church to the social problem, concluded that a "social-psychological system" was at the basis of Stoecker's political activities.[3] Stoecker's conception of Volkskirche and Volksseele were understood to be within the Romantic philosophical tradition.

Another more sympathetic treatment of Stoecker's political perspective appeared in Karl Buchheim's political study of the Protestant-Social movements and the eventual emergence of a party.[4] Buchheim claimed that Stoecker was not an illustration, as some had asserted, of the

---

1. Karl Kupisch, "Adolf Stoecker," Durch den Zaun der Geschichte (Berlin: Lettner-Verlag GmbH., 1964), pp. 188-98.

2. Kupisch, Durch den Zaun, p. 189.

3. Erich Thier, Die Kirche und die soziale Frage. Von Wichern bis Friedrich Naumann. Eine Untersuchung über die Beziehungen zwischen politischen Vorgängen und kirchlichen Reformen ("Schriftenreihe der Inneren Mission," Reihe A, Heft 1; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1950), p. 62.

4. Karl Buchheim, "Stoecker und die Christlichsozialen," Geschichte der Christlichen Parteien in Deutschland (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1953), pp. 239-95.

incompatibility of the Gospel and politics, for Stoecker demonstrated that the Gospel cannot remain private but must, by its very nature, become political.[1] In order to meet the charge that religion was the "opium of the people," Stoecker sought to take the Church, involved in the political and social arena, to the people. Buchheim, perhaps overly impressed by Stoecker, considered the court preacher to be a man with significant political influence until 1896.[2]

Günther Brakelmann concurred that Stoecker's primary contribution to the Protestant-Social movement was in the politicizing of the movement.[3] Contrary to the perspective of Walter Frank, however, Brakelmann did not think that Stoecker had any great influence upon the common man.[4] Such a lack of influence was attributed to the fact of Stoecker's bond to the ruling classes, both personally as court preacher and ideologically in his conception of the Christian state.[5]

---

1. Buchheim, p. 239.

2. _Ibid_., p. 282.

3. Günther Brakelmann, _Die soziale Frage des 19. Jahrhunderts_, hrsg. von Sibylle Banke ("Seminare von Westfalen"; 2. Teil; Witten/Ruhr: Luther-Verlag, 1962). Included in this study are sections on Marx, the German working class movement, and the Protestant-Social movement.

4. Brakelmann, p. 70.

5. _Ibid_., p. 69.

Brakelmann viewed Stoecker's political struggles from the perspective of a fight against secularization, modern culture, and the modern spirit. In this study, then, Stoecker appeared more as a political reactionary than a social reformer.

In the most recent treatment of Stoecker, Stupperich took issue with the narrowly political interpretations of the court preacher.[1] Singling out Walter Frank's position as symptomatic of such a narrow view, Stupperich sought to illustrate, through early letters and articles, a concern for social Christianity, mission, and confessional theology early in Stoecker's career. According to Stupperich's interpretation, Stoecker was not only a polemical writer and politician, but he also sought to take social Christianity to the people and to publicize its value. This interpretation saw Stoecker as an important worker for the creation of an authentic Christian community.[2]

Within this general political approach are interpretations that run the gambit from being sympathetic[3] to indifferent, and even unsympathetic,[4] to Stoecker and his program. Some consider Stoecker the proto-type of the Germany under Hitler,[1] while others see in Stoecker an example of how the Church might function given such authoritarian conditions.[2] Some deal with Stoecker's activities and program as clearly time-bound, while others not only see Stoecker as prophetic, but as a symbol of the Christian-politician.[3] Some consider Stoecker a great leader of the German people,[4] while others see him as an ecclesiastic grasping for political power.[5] While some consider Stoecker's anti-Semitic position to be integral to his political program and tactics,[6] others see it as an expedient tool,[7] and still others see it as an unfortunate secondary issue in Stoecker that was lifted into the foreground, especially during the Third Reich.[8] There seems to be a general consensus as to Stoecker's essentially conservative-nationalistic position, but some disagree as to whether this was fundamentally Prussian or German.[1] In any case Stoecker's conservative-nationalistic political perspective made the court preacher something of an enigma when seen in light of his almost radical, given the context of his time, social and religious perspective.

---

[1] Robert Stupperich, "Adolf Stoeckers Anfänge."

[2] Stupperich, p. 326.

[3] Most notable of the sympathetic interpretations are those of Arthur Bonus, Karl Veidt, and Karl Buchheim.

[4] For examples of generally unsympathetic treatments of Stoecker, see Paul Göhre and Günther Brakelmann.

---

[1] This theme is particularly evident in Paul LeSeur, Walter Frank, and Gerhard Malbeck.

[2] See, for example, Karl Veidt, Arnold Poepke, and Karl Kupisch.

[3] This theme is most evident in Arthur Bonus, Günther Dehn, and Arnold Poepke.

[4] See, for example, Karl Veidt, Walter Frank, and Gerhard Malbeck.

[5] This interpretation of Stoecker is most evident in Paul Göhre and Günther Brakelmann.

[6] Here, see Paul Göhre, Paul LeSeur, Walter Frank, and Gerhard Malbeck.

[7] See, for example, Arthur Bonus, Gertrud Traeder, Paul Hübner, Karl Veidt, Arnold Poepke, and Karl Buchheim.

[8] This interpretation is most evident in Karl Kupisch and Erich Thier.

From such a survey of the major interpretations of Adolf Stoecker, one can conclude, first, that Stoecker's biography as a detailed account of his life and activities has been adequately written;[2] second, that the specific problems of Stoecker the Churchman and ecclesiastical-politician, i.e., within Church synods and the ecclesiastical organization, has been satisfactorily treated;[3] third, that the specifics of Stoecker's political activity and political position have been described many times;[4] and fourth, that his anti-Semitic position, even though often somewhat misunderstood and over-stated, has been sufficiently treated.[1] Adolf Stoecker and his Christian-Socialist position, however, have never been adequately treated from the perspective of intellectual and theological history, especially on the issue of his perspective as an alternative to Marxist Socialism. Many of the previous studies complement and even provide important insights into such an attempt, particularly at the points of Stoecker's analysis of the social problem, but none have sufficiently come to terms with Stoecker's social-economic-political position, founded and based upon the Christian perspective, as an alternative to the program of the Social-Democrats in Germany.

---

[1] There is general agreement on Stoecker's German nationalism, especially following 1871, except for Karl Kupisch who finds some remnants of Prussian nationalism in Stoecker's position.

[2] See, in particular, Dietrich von Oertzen, Max Braun, and Walter Frank.

[3] Here, see Dietrich von Oertzen, Max Braun, Ernst Bunke, Friedrich Brunstäd, Wilhelm Meyer, Günther Minia, Helmuth Schreiner, and Hans Brandenburg.

[4] Stoecker's political activity and position can be found in Paul Göhre, Arthur Bonus, Gertrud Traeder, Paul Hübner, Karl Veidt, Walter Frank, Arnold Poepke, Karl Kupisch, Erich Thier, and Günther Brakelmann.

The primary purpose of this study will be to examine various aspects of the response, from certain quarters of the Protestant Church in Germany, to the social problem and more particularly to the theories and teachings of Karl Marx and the Social-Democrats. The Christian-Socialist position of Adolf Stoecker was one of the earliest attempts within the German Protestant Church to deal with the social problem and to offer an alternative to the Marxist and Social-Democratic position. Adolf Stoecker's alternative will constitute the primary focus of this study.

In the light of recent confrontations and attempts at dialogue between certain Christian theologians and Marxist theoreticians, such a study becomes not only somewhat timely but it takes on the added significance as an example of an earlier confrontation between these competing perspectives, life-styles, and social positions.[1]

---

[1] 1. See, for example, Paul Göhre, Paul LeSeur, Walter Frank, and Gerhard Malbeck.

---

[1] For an illustration of the extent of this dialogue consult, for example, the bibliography in [World Council of Churches], "Study Encounter: Dialogue Between Christians and Marxists," IV, 1 (1968).

Chapter II

BACKGROUND: THE SETTING OF ADOLF STOECKER'S LIFE AND ACTIVITY[1]

The Political Setting

The Germany of 1874, the time Adolf Stoecker made his appearance on the national scene as court preacher at Berlin, was the newly formed Empire.[2] The decade just

---

[1] As in the study of any historical figure, the background and context is of great importance in order to understand Adolf Stoecker and his perspective. He was not only greatly influenced by his past and his environment, but much of his perspective was formed relative to this setting. Among the important factors are the political situation, including the various political and social positions of the differing political parties, the socio-economic context and the official response to this situation, the general and ecclesiastical theological context, and finally the Protestant-Social movement. Aware of the problem of generalization in any treatment of such a complex time, this study will attempt to lay out only a cursory sketch of these factors, concentrating on those aspects particularly relevant for an understanding of Stoecker. The bibliographical essays will point to some of the more substantial monographs.

[2] As with all of the bibliographical essays in this study, there is no attempt to be complete, but rather to single out some major interpretations and more interesting treatments.

The best guide to German historiography is Dahlmann-Waitz, Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte.

Bibliographie der Quellen und der Literatur zur deutschen Geschichte (10. Auflage, unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Gelehrter hrsg. im Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte von Hermann Heimpel und Herbert Geuss; Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1965). Another helpful source both for summary interpretations of the period and for bibliographical references is Bruno Gebhardt, *Von der Französischen Revolution bis zum ersten Weltkrieg* (4 vols.; "Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte," Bd. III; Stuttgart: Union Verlag, 1960). One of the earliest comprehensive treatments of the formation of the Empire is H. von Sybel, *Die Begründung des deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I* (7. vols.; München: R. Oldenbourg, 1889-94). K. G. Lamprecht gives a sociological interpretation of the 19th century, particularly in terms of the industrial and social developments, in *Deutsche Geschichte der jüngsten Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (2 vols.; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1912-13). A republican interpretation of the period can be found in Johannes Ziekursch, *Politische Geschichte des neuen deutschen Kaiserreiches* (3 vols.; Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Societätsdruckerei 1925-30). The standard conservative treatment is Adalbert Wahl, *Deutsche Geschichte 1871 bis 1914* (4 vols.; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1926-36). One of the important Socialist interpretations, condemnatory of Bismarck and Wilhelm II, is that of Arthur Rosenberg, *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Republik 1871-1918* (Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, 1928). A critical evaluation of this period in light of the events of 1933 is Wilhelm Mommsen, *Politische Geschichte von Bismarck bis zur Gegenwart 1850-1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1935). A more recent general but substantial study of 19th century Germany is that of Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (4 vols.; 3. Auflage; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder und Co., 1947-51), first published 1927-37. H. Heffter has written an important interpretation of this period from the perspective of the failure of the liberal movement in his *Die deutsche Selbstverwaltung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler, 1950). Erich Eyck, one of the foremost interpreters of Bismarck, has studied the interrelation of Bismarck and the formation of the Empire in his *Bismarck und das deutsche Reich* (Erlenbach-Zürich: E. Rentsch, 1955). A recent political and governmental study of the Empire period is that of Th. Schieder, *Das deutsche Kaiserreich von 1871 als Nationalstaat* (Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1961). Among the important studies of this period in English are: F. Darmstaedter, *Bismarck and the Creation of the Second Reich* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1948), who considers the Empire of 1871 to be the product of the genius of Bismarck; Koppel S. Pinson, *Modern Germany: Its History and Civilization* (New York: The Macmillan Company, prior to the formation of this Empire had seen a rather dramatic alteration of the German Confederation.[1] During the earlier part of the century, the Confederation had been dominated by Austria. But as a result of such factors as the shrewd diplomatic maneuvers of the Chief Minister of Prussia, Otto von Bismarck,[2] the superiority of the Prussian

---

1954), who sees this period within the framework of the tragic efforts made by liberalism and democracy to assert themselves over against militarism and nationalism; and Otto Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany: The Years of Unification 1815-71* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

[1] Among the more important interpretations of the German Confederation is Heinrich Friedjung, *Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland 1859 bis 1866* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1916-17). Eugene N. Anderson studies the internal developments in Prussia during this period in *The Social and Political Conflict in Prussia 1858-1864* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1954). A study of the period from the perspective of the failure of the liberal movement in Germany is that of Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957). Werner E. Mosse, *The European Powers and the German Question 1848-1871* (Cambridge: University Press, 1958). An important political study of the Confederation period is Otto Becker, *Bismarcks Ringen um Deutschland*, hrsg. und ergänzt von A. Scharff (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1958). Heinrich R. Srlick, Hrsg., *Quellen zur deutschen Politik Österreichs 1859-1866* (5 vols.; Berlin: Gerhard Stalling, 1934-38). A selection of Bismarck sources up to 1866 can be found in Otto von Bismarck, *Werke in Auswahl*, hrsg. von Gustav A. Rein (3 vols.; Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1962-65).

[2] One of the more important editions of Bismarck's works is that of Friedrich Thimme, Hrsg., *Die Gesammelten Werke von Fürst Otto von Bismarck* (19 vols.; Berlin: Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, 1924-35). This edition includes helpful introductions to the various sources. A good bibliography is included in Walter Bussmann, *Das Zeitalter Bismarcks*, hrsg. von Otto Brandt, Arnold Meyer, und Leo Just (4 vols.; "Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte"; Konstanz: Athenaion, 1957), III, 251-74. Another

general staff and army, and Prussia's decisive victory in the Seven Weeks War in 1866,[1] Austria was expelled from the

---

bibliographical study can be found in Leonhard von Muralt's study of the political and religious principles upon which Bismarck's policies were founded, in *Bismarcks Verantwortlichkeit* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1955), pp. 218-34. For the most important English studies on Bismarck see: Dieter Hillerbrand, "Bismarck in der angelsächsischen Geschichtsschreibung seit 1945," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XLVIII, 3 (1966), 387-402. An important critical treatment of Bismarck, is Erich Eyck's substantial study, *Bismarck: Leben und Werk* (3 vols.; Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1941-44). Using Eyck's biography as an example, the problems of writing a biography of Bismarck are laid out in Hans Rothfels, "Problems of a Bismarck Biography," *Review of Politics*, IX (July, 1947), 362-80. Andreas Dorpalen attempts to survey the various approaches to the Bismarck-problem in "The German Historians and Bismarck," *Review of Politics*, XV (Jan., 1953), 53-67. A helpful collection of political documents focusing on Bismarck can be found in Hans Rothfels, Hrsg., *Bismarck und der Staat* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1953). The question of Bismarck's nationalism, Prussian or German, is dealt with in Otto Pflanze, "Bismarck and German Nationalism," *American Historical Review*, LX, 3 (Ap., 1955), 548-66. Gustav A. Rein's *Die Revolution in der Politik Bismarcks* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag, 1957), stresses Bismarck's intuitive grasp of conditions in the determination of his policies. Within this political study, Rein has included a section on the problems of Bismarck interpretation. Another study from the political perspective is W. Mommsen's *Bismarck, Ein Politisches Lebensbild* (München: F. Bruckmann, 1959). A survey of the problems in determining Bismarck's political position is presented in Hajo Holborn, "Bismarck's Realpolitik," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXI, 1 (Jan.-Mar., 1960), 84-98. A recent biographical interpretation, emphasizing the context within which Bismarck worked is that of Werner Richta, *Bismarck* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1962). A survey of the various interpretations of Bismarck's foreign policy is given in Herbert D. Andrews, "Bismarck's Foreign Policy and German Historiography," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXVII, 3 (Sept., 1965), 345-56.

[1] Documentary sources for the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 can be found in Horst Kohl, Hrsg., *Deutschlands Einigungskriege 1864-1871* (3 vols.; Leipzig: R. Voigtländer, 1917). This collection of documents and

German Confederation and a North German Confederation, consisting of those German states north of the Main River, was organized under the domination of Prussia.[1] The defeat of

---

commentary has the advantage of dealing with the Wars of 1866 and 1870-71 in continuity with the German unification movement. Austrian sources can be found in Oskar Schmid and Heinrich R. von Srbik, Hrsg., *Quellen zur deutschen Politik Österreichs 1859-66* (5 vols.; Berlin: Gerhard Stalling, 1934-38). The collection of Prussian documents is /Historische Reichskommission/, *Die auswärtige Politik Preussen 1858-81*, hrsg. von Erich Brandenburg, Otto Hoetzsch, and Hermann Oncken (10 vols.; Berlin: Oldenburg, 1932-45). An early military interpretation of the war from an Austrian point of view is that of Heirich Friedjung, *Der Kampf um die vorherrschaft in Deutschland, 1859 bis 1866* (10. Auflage; Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1916-17). One of the more recent treatments is Wilhelm Schüssler's *Königgrätz 1866; Bismarcks tragische Trennung von Österreich* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1958).

Among the works dealing with the history of the army and its relation to the state are: Kurt Jany, *Geschichte der Königlich Preussischen Armee* (4 vols.; Berlin: Siegismund, 1933), Ernst R. Huber, *Heer und Staat in der deutschen Geschichte* (Hamburg: /publisher not given/, 1938), Herbert Rosinski, *The German Army* (London: Hogarth Press, 1939), Walter Görlitz, *Der Deutsche Generalstab: Geschichte und Gestalt 1657-1945* (Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag d. Frankfurter Hefte, 1950), Gordan A. Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army 1640-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), and Gerhard Ritter, *Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk. Das Problem des "Militarismus" in Deutschland* (3 vols.; 2. Auflage; München: R. Oldenbourg, 1959-64).

[1] The important source for the North German Confederation is /Konstituierenden Reichstag/, *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages des Norddeutschen Bundes im Jahre 1867-70* (15 vols.; Berlin: Verlag der Buchdruckerei der "Norddeutschen Allgemeinen Zeitung," 1867-1870). The relation of economics and politics in the North German Confederation is treated in Karl Zuchardt's *Die Finanzpolitik Bismarcks und der Parteien im Norddeutschen Bunde* (Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1910). The Confederation's relationship to the South German states is treated in Wilhelm Schüssler's *Bismarcks Kampf um Süddeutschland 1867* (Berlin: G. Stilke, 1929). Fritz Dickmann, *Militärpolitische*

Austria had broken the power balance that had been maintained for several centuries. The final step in the creation of a united Germany was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.[1]

Beziehungen zwischen Preussen und Sachsen 1866-70. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung des Norddeutschen Bundes (München: Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1929), deals with the place of the military in the Confederation.

[1] Among the source collections for the Franco-Prussian War is *Der deutsch-französische Krieg, 1870-71. Redigirt von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abteilung des Grossen Generalstabes* (5 vols.; Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1874-81), which includes two volumes of military maps. Other source material can be found in [Das Staatsarchiv], *Sammlung der offiziellen Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Gegenwart*, hrsg. von Hans Delbruck (86 vols.; Hamburg: O. Meissner, 1861-81; Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1872-1919). For French sources see Albert Sorel's *Histoire Diplomatique de la guerre franco-allemande* (2 vols.; Paris: E. Plon et cie, 1875). For a first hand account on the German side see Count Helmuth von Moltke's *The Franco-German War of 1870-71*, trans. by C. Bell and H. W. Fischer (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1892). The standard account is that of Pierre Lehautcourt [Barthelemy E. Palat], *Histoire de la guerre de 1870/71* (15 vols.; Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1893-1901). He also wrote a study of the origins of the war, *Les origines de la guerre de 1870. La candidature Hohenzollern 1868-1870* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1912). A comprehensive political study is Hermann Oncken's *Die Rheinpolitik Kaiser Napoleons III von 1863 bis 1870 und der Ursprung des Krieges von 1870/71; nach den Staatsakten von Österreich, Preussen und den süddeutschen Mittelstaaten* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1926). A French interpretation, with a bibliographical study, is Jacques Desmarest, *La défense nationale, 1870-1871* (Paris: Flammarion, 1949). A recent treatment is Gustav A. Rein's *Die Reichsgründung in Versailles* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1958). The significance of the war for the French is presented in Aimé Dupuy's 1870-1871. *La guerre, la commune, et la presse* (Paris: A. Colin, 1959). Michael Howard, *The Franco-Prussian War; The German Invasion of France 1870-1871* (London: R. Hart-Davis, 1961), is a military study of the war that includes substantial bibliography. The origins and causes of the war, Bismarck's diplomacy, and the political significance of the war are aspects of Jochen Dittrich's study, *Bismarck, Frankreich und die spanische Thronkandidatur der Hohenzollern; die "Kriegsschuldfrage" von 1870. Im Anhang Briefe und*

Bismarck, capitalizing on such factors as a resurgence of French nationalism, was instrumental in bringing about this war. The South German states fought as allies with the North German Confederation against the common enemy of Napoleonic France. They inflicted a crushing defeat upon France, even taking the French Emperor prisoner. At the close of the war, the South German states joined with the North German Confederation to form the German Empire, the Second *Reich*. Induced by Bismarck, the German rulers offered the imperial crown to Wilhelm I of Prussia.[1]

Aktenstücke aus dem Fürstlich Hohenzollernschen Hausarchiv (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1962). A English study along the same lines is that of Lawrence D. Steefel, *Bismarck, the Hohenzollern Candidacy, and the Origins of the Franco-German War of 1870* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962).

[1] One of the important sources for the study of Wilhelm I is the correspondence between the Emperor and Bismarck, *Wilhelm I und Bismarck in ihrem Briefwechsel*, Auswahl und Erläuterung von E. von der Hellen (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1917). Biographies of Wilhelm I include: Friedrich W. F. Nippold, *Aus dem Leben der beiden ersten deutschen Kaiser und ihrer Frauen. Forschungen und Erinnerungen* (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke, 1906), Johann F. G. Delbrück, *Die jugend des Königs Friedrich Wilhelm IV von Preussen und des Kaisers und Königs Wilhelm I* (3 vols.; Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1907), and the political biography of Erich Marcks, *Kaiser Wilhelm I*, hrsg. von Karl Pagel (9. Auflage; Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1943). Political studies focusing on the Emperor: Gottlob Egelhaaf, *Kaiser Wilhelm und die Gründung des neuen deutschen Reichs. 1797-1885* (Stuttgart: C. Krabbe, 1886), Hermann Klee, *Das preussische Königthum und Kaiser Wilhelm I. Eine historisch-politische Studie* (Berlin: W. Moeser, 1888), and Karl Hampe, *Wilhelm I; Kaiserfrage und Kölner Dom. Ein biographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Reichsgründung* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1936).

Even though the Empire fashioned by Bismarck was formally a federation of some twenty-five states, it was dominated by Prussia, not only in area and population but in political power. The Imperial Constitution was to serve the purposes of a centralized monarchy.[1] The liberal aspect of the Constitution was the Reichstag or Diet, elected by universal manhood suffrage of all citizens over twenty-five. The Reichstag could debate and pass, though not initiate legislation; in reality, therefore, it possessed only the power of advice and consent. The Bundersrat, or the Upper House, consisted of appointed delegates representing the various states, and was controlled by Prussia. The headship of the Empire was vested in the Emperor, who in turn delegated many of his powers to the Imperial Chancellor and the military general staff. As the Imperial Chancellor was responsible only to the Emperor, Bismarck held a great deal of the power of the Empire.

In order to consolidate this newly created Empire and win support, both popular and in the Reichstag, for his programs, Bismarck had to maintain a political, as well as military power base.[2] Such a political power base was founded, for the most part, on the National Liberal Party,[1]

---

[1] The powers of the federal government were specifically enumerated, including the control of taxation and customs, the army and navy, foreign and interstate commerce, civil and criminal law, while those of the states remained undefined and residual. Pinson, pp. 156-63.

[2] The source for the debates in the Reichstag is General Register zu den Reichstags Verhandlungen 1867-95

(Berlin: Verlag der Norddeutschen Buchdruckerei und Verlags-Anstalt, 1896). For short biographical sketches of members of the *Reichstag* consult Max Schwarz, *MdR*: *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschen Reichstags* (Hannover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1965). Collections of party programs can be found in: Felix Salomon, *Die deutschen Parteiprogramme* (2 vols.; 5. Auflage; Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1931), Wolfgang Treue, *Deutsche Parteiprogramme 1861-1954* (2. Auflage; Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1957), and Wilhelm Mommsen, Hrsg., *Deutsche Parteiprogramme* (2 vols.; 2. Auflage; München: Olzog, 1964), which includes extensive interpretation of the documents. Ernst R. Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789* (3 vols.; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1957) presents a comprehensive study of the constitutional developments and the emergence of political parties in the 19th century. Theodor Schieder's volume *Staat und Gesellschaft im Wandel unserer Zeit* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1958) contains several articles on German political parties. Another general history of political parties is Ludwig Bergsträsser, *Geschichte der politischen Parteien in Deutschland* (11. Auflage; München: G. Olzog, 1965).

[1] Oskar Klein-Hattingen's *Geschichte der deutschen Liberalismus* (2 vols.; Berlin-Schöneburg: Buchverlag der "Hilfe," 1911-12) is a rather comprehensive study of German Liberalism including a bibliographical section of works up to that time. Erich Brandenburg, *50 Jahre nationalliberale Partei* (Berlin: Schriftenvertriebsstelle d. nationalliberale Partei, 1917) and Paul Wentzcke, *Deutscher Liberalismus im Zeitalter Bismarcks* (2 vols.; Bonn: K. Schroeder, 1926) are general studies of the National Liberal Party during the Bismarck-era. Hermann Block's *Die parlamentarische Krisis der national liberalen Partei 1879-1880* (Münster i. W.: Helios-Verlag, 1930) deals with the difficult years in which the political dominance of the National Liberal Party was challenged. Friedrich C. Sell, viewing modern liberalism as a product of the 18th century, writes of *Die Tragödie des deutschen Liberalismus* (Stuttgart: Deutsche-Verlags-Anstalt, 1953). The political relations of the Liberal Party and Bismarck are discussed in Lenore O'Boyle, "Liberal Political Leadership in Germany, 1867-1884," *The Journal of Modern History*, XXVIII, 4 (Dec., 1956), 338-52. Thomas Nipperdey treats the social and economic makeup of the Liberal Party in "Die Organisation der Bürgerlichen Parteien in Deutschland vor 1918," *Historische Zeitshrift*, CLXXXV (1958), 550-602.

the first important German party. The Conservative Party,[1] organized in the 1850's by Bismarck and the *Junkers*, the Prussian landed aristocracy, tended to remain Prussian in orientation, loyal to the government, the army, and the Lutheran Church. As long as the vested interests of the landed aristocracy remained unchallenged, and as long as the *Junkers* held a monopoly in the officers' corps in the military, Bismarck found support in the Conservative Party for many of his policies. This was one side of the system of balances he sought to maintain in order to provide him with a necessary power base. The other side of the balance was the National Liberal Party. The Liberals obtained many of their demands, e.g., a *Reichstag*, universal legal procedure, uniform coinage, uniformity of administration

---

1. Gerhard Ritter, *Die preussischen Konservativen und Bismarcks deutsche Politik, 1858-76* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1913) is an interpretation of the interrelationship between Bismarck and the Conservatives, includes some reprinted documents and a bibliographical study. Several studies dealing with specific aspects of the Conservative Party are: K. Herberger, *Die Stellung der preussischen Konservativen zur sozialen Frage* (Leipzig: G. Fock, 1914) and Erich Stock, *Wirtschaftliche und sozialpolitische Bestrebungen der Deutsch-Konservativen Partei unter Bismarck 1876-1890* (Breslau: M. u. H. Marcus, 1928). A history of the Conservative Party from the perspective of domestic politics is Otto C. Schüddekipf, *Die deutsche Innenpolitik der letzten Jahrhundert und der Konservative Gedanke* (Braunschweig: A. Limbach, 1951). Hans J. Schoeps, *Das andere Preussen. Konservative Gestalten und Probleme im Zeitalter Friedrich Wilhelms IV* (2. Auflage; Stuttgart: Peters, 1952) is a study of conservative politics in terms of political figures and themes. A recent history of the party, with a helpful bibliographical section, is Hans Booms, *Die Deutschkonservative Partei* ("Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien," Heft 3; Düsseldorf: Droste-Verlag, 1954).

throughout Germany, and the removal of restrictions on freedom of enterprise and movement within the country. Bismarck permitted economic power to reside in the industrial and capitalist classes, the backbone of the National Liberal Party, but political power remained with him. The Progressive Party, made up largely from the professional and bourgeois classes of Prussia, stood for individual rights, parliamentary government, limited monarchy, and opposed the development of a military establishment. As an opposition party during the period of German unification, the Progressive Party lost much of its popular appeal after Bismarck's successful creation of the Empire. Liberal in orientation, it split several times, much of its strength being absorbed by the National Liberal Party.

In spite of their differences, these parties represented the propertied classes and thus a minority in Germany. The Conservatives, Liberals, and Progressives were, therefore, establishment parties since they were supporters of the social and political system. It was, however, the divisions among these parties, as well as the division among the majority of the population and their emerging opposition parties, that made it possible for Bismarck to retain power.

The National Liberal Party, the source of much of Bismarck's political support in the 1870's, was organized following the victory of the Seven-Weeks War. It had supported Bismarck's national unification by promoting the cause of German nationalism in the South German states prior to the war with France. The membership of this party was drawn primarily from the industrial classes. The National Liberal Party was generally willing to postpone the fulfillment of their objectives, supporting instead the government's efforts to centralize, consolidate, and strengthen the Empire. Their support of centralization and the military establishment, as well as their general anti-clerical stance, gave Bismarck an effective political tool for the consolidation of the German Empire along his lines.

In the early part of the 1870's a fourth political power, the Center or Catholic Party, emerged, having its strength in the Catholic southern German states and in Rhenish Prussia.[1] The resurgence of German Catholicism was related to the Romantic movement, particularly in its idealization of medievalism and the Catholic Church. Political Catholicism, an aspect of this resurgence, became an important advocate of the conservative organistic theory of the state. During the Empire period, the Center Party was an opposition party to the Protestant Junkers and the secularist liberals. Originally political Catholicism in Germany advocated a "greater German" nationalism, i.e., the inclusion of Austria in the Empire, but after 1871, cut off from their fellow Catholics in Austria, they were defenders of federalism. Translated into practice, the Center Party became a conservative states' rights party, supporting particularism. The opposition of the Center Party was focused particularly upon Bismarck's centralizing and consolidating policies. Contrary to the establishment parties, the Center Party united German Catholics without regard to class or status, and in that sense was a national rather than a class party.

---

[1] Martin Spahn, *Das deutsche Zentrum* (Mainz: Kirchheim und Co., 1907) is an early political history of the Catholic party. Catholic social policy is treated in H. Gehrig, *Die Begründung des Prinzips der Sozialreform* (Jena: G. Fisher, 1914). The standard account, as comprehensive as it is massive, is Karl Bachem's *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der deutschen Zentrumspartei* (9 vols.; Köln: J. P. Bachem, 1927-31). The emergence and development of political Catholicism in Germany is the subject of Emil Ritter, *Der Weg des politischen Katholizismus in Deutschland* (Breslau: Bergstadt-Verlag, [Wilh. Gottl. Korn], 1934). Another work by the same author dealing with Catholic social thought and action, focusing on the Center Party, is *Die katholisch-soziale Bewegung Deutschlands im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert und der Volksverein* (Köln: J. P. Bachem, 1954). An informative political study of the Catholics during the emergence of the Empire is G. C. Windell, *The Catholics and German Unity 1866-71* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954). A study dealing with various Catholic political leaders and diplomatic dealings of Germany and the Vatican is Franciscus Hanus, *Die Preussische Vatikangesandtschaft. 1747-1920* (München: Pohl, 1954).

Bismarck feared politically oriented Catholicism, especially after it had advocated German intervention, following the unification of Italy, to restore the temporal power of the papacy. His fears had early been reinforced by the "Syllabus of Errors" of 1864, in which Pius IX denounced "modern errors," and by the promulgation of the doctrine of the infallibility of the papacy, in matters of faith and morals, by the Vatican Council in 1870. He saw such Catholic resurgence as a basis for possible papal intervention in the domestic affairs of Germany. His policy of realizing parts of the program of the National Liberal Party also brought him into conflict with the conservative oriented Catholic party. Since for the Imperial Chancellor, the Center Party personified separatism and localism, clearly in contrast to his policy of centralization, he felt constrained to embark on a course of conflict with this opposition party, known as the *Kulturkampf*.[1] The confrontation began with the attempt to break clerical control of education, but in time became a challenge to the independence of the Roman Catholic Church. Many of Bismarck's liberal supporters saw this conflict as a struggle of modern, liberal, and scientific civilization against a medieval and outdated Church that threatened their interests. In 1872 Bismarck secured the passage in the *Reichstag* of a law expelling the Jesuits. A violent anticleric, Adalbert Falk, became minister of religious affairs. In May of 1873, a series of anti-Catholic laws went into effect. These "May Laws" were particularly effective in Prussia. By such legislation, Bismarck sought to deal with the Catholic problem in a comprehensive manner.[1] The papacy retaliated by declaring the

---

[1] Documents and official sources of the *Kulturkampf* can be found in N. Siegfried, *Aktenstücke, betr. den preussischen Kulturkampf* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1882), and Adelheid Constabel, Hrsg. *Die Vorgeschichte des Kulturkampfes. Quellenvoröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Zentralarchiv* (Berlin: Rütten and Loening, 1956). Johannes B. Kissling, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Deutschen Reich* (3 vols.; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1911-16), includes reprints of many important sources. Emanuel Hirsch, *Staat und Kirche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1929), treats the *Kulturkampf* within the general Church-state problem. Hans Kars, *Kanzler and Kirche. Bismarcks grundsätzliche Einstellung zu der Kirche während des Kulturkampfes* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1934). Erich Schmidt, *Bismarcks Kampf mit dem politischen Katholizismus* (2. Auflage; Hamburg: Hanseat. Verlag Anst., 1942). Another historical treatment of the conflict between Bismarck and the Catholic party and Church, with bibliography, is Georg Franz, *Kulturkampf. Staat und katholische Kirche in Mitteleuropa seit der Säkularisation bis zum Abschluss des preussischen Kulturkampfes* (München: D. W. Callwey, 1954). One of the recent studies dealing not only with the *Kulturkampf* itself, but with the various political and religious ramifications of this conflict, Erich Schmidt-Volkmar, *Der Kulturkampf in Deutschland 1871-1890* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1962). The particular relation of the *Kulturkampf* to the liberals is dealt with in Fritz-Rolf Mänicke, *Der Kampf des fortschrittlichen Bürgertums gegen den politischen Klerikalismus*, hrsg. von Sekretariat des Zentralvorstandes der Liberal-Demokratischen Partei Deutschlands im Buchverlag (Berlin: Der Morgen, 1963). Treatments of particular aspects of the *Kulturkampf* can be found in: Felix Rachfahl, "Windthorst und der Kulturkampf in Preussen," *Preussische*

Jahrbücher, CXXXV (Jan., Mar., 1909), 213-53, 460-90, Erich Förster, *Adalbert Falk, sein Leben und Wirken als preussischer Kultusminister* (Gotha: L. Klotz, 1927), and R. Ruhenstroth-Bauer, *Bismarck und Falk in Kulturkampf* ("Heidelberger Abhandlungen," Heft 70; Heidelberg: Carl Winter Univ. Verlag, 1944). A historiographical study can be found in Friedrich Sell, "Motive, Methoden und Ideen des Bismarckschen Kulturkampfes," *Theologische Rundschau*, IX, 4 (1937), 228-72. Bismarck's use of the *Kulturkampf* as a means of isolating France is treated in Francis A. Arlinghaus, "The Kulturkampf and European Diplomacy 1871-1875," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII, 3 (Oct., 1942), 340-75. Heinrich Bornkamm, "Die Staatsidee im Kulturkampf," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXX, 2 (1950), 41-72, 273-306, is a historical study dealing with the political rationale for the *Kulturkampf* also includes a bibliographical section.

[1] The "May Laws" dealt the Catholic Church a severe blow for it was stipulated that no one but a German could be appointed to an office in the Catholic Church, that priests must pass government examinations, that seminaries were to be under state control, and that civil marriage was to be compulsory. Along with the expulsion of the Jesuits went the suppression of many of the other religious orders. Ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction came under state control. Pinson, p. 188.

"May Laws" null and void, urging the clergy not to obey them. In 1875 a papal encyclical declared these laws to be contradictory to the divine institution of the Church.[1] The Bishops, meeting at Fulda, claimed that obedience to the laws was a violence to faith. In spite of such opposition, Bismarck attempted to enforce these laws by fines, imprisonment, and confiscation of Church property. As a result of this repressive policy some one-thousand Catholic Churches were closed. The Kulturkampf rallied the National Liberals, Progressives, some of the Lutheran conservatives, and various extreme nationalists to the cause of Bismarck in opposition to the papacy and political Catholicism. Partisan feeling and religious bigotry seemed to be on the increase. Nevertheless the majority of the German Catholics remained loyal to the pope, in spite of the suppression of their Church. Registering their determined support of the Center Party in the election of 1874 by polling some one and a half million votes, increasing the Center representation in the Reichstag from sixty-three to ninety-one seats.[2]

Out of this conflict emerged a powerful Center Party organized along ideological rather than social or class lines, including peasants, workers, shopkeepers, and intellectuals, as well as the Church. Instead of consolidating Bismarck's position, the _Kulturkampf_ had the effect of pushing him into the hands of the Liberals. The _Junkers_, even though Protestant, did not sympathize with liberal anticlericalism, or liberal economics for that matter, tended to move closer to the particularism of the Center Party. Bismarck saw that being forced into the Liberal camp would precipitate a conflict between the Liberals and the _Junkers_, undercutting his system of coalition and balance. Concluding by the end of the decade that the anti-Catholic campaign was neither effective nor accomplishing its purpose, and that he had overestimated the danger of political Catholicism while underestimating its strength and determination, Bismarck called a halt to the _Kulturkampf_.

---

[1] Pinson, p. 188.

[2] In 1871 for example, the Center Party polled some 725,000 votes of the 4,100,000 votes cast. In 1874, they polled almost 1,500,000 of the 5,300,000 votes cast. This meant that in 1874, the Center Party held almost a quarter of the 397 seats in the Reichstag. For further statistics see: Pinson, pp. 188-89, 572.

Economic developments, especially after the financial crisis of 1873, were also instrumental in forcing Bismarck away from the Liberals and their _laissez-faire_ economic position. Bismarck, concluding that he could use the Center Party for other parts of his program, abandoned his liberal allies by 1879 and their program of free trade, adopting a policy of protective tariffs, favoring industrial and agricultural interests. The abandonment of the Liberals, and the compromise position favoring the conservative elements and the Center Party, neither of whom disputed Bismarck's authoritarianism, maintained a basis for political power. Bismarck's campaign against the Catholic Church and the Center Party had been unsuccessful, resulting in a solidified political party, that in general opposed excessive militarism and imperialism, throwing its support to legislation favoring the Catholic Church, states' rights, a degree of social and political reform, and indirect taxation. By 1887 diplomatic relations with the Vatican were restored and most anti-Catholic legislation was repealed. An indication of the increasing strength of political Catholicism is that by 1912 the Center Party was the second largest political party in Germany.[1]

During the same time, a second opposition party, the Social-Democrats, emerged to challenge and plague Bismarck. This Party issued forth from two currents, one emanating from within Germany, embodied by Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864), and the other stemming from the Socialist tradition of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895).[2] The

---

1. Pinson, p. 573.

2. For the writings of Marx and Engels see: Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Werke* (39 vols.; Berlin: Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Dietz Verlag, 1961-68). Among the more recent bibliographies are: /Zentralinstitut für Bibliothekswesen/, *Karl Marx, eine empfehlende Bibliographie*, berarb. von Werner Rittner (Leipzig: Verlag für Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 1954); Robert N. C. Hunt, *Books on Communism, a bibliography* (London: Ampersand Ltd., 1959), deals almost exclusively with English and translated works; and John Lachs, *Marxist philosophy; a bibliographical guide* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), a rather comprehensive listing. Harold J. Laski, *Karl Marx* (London: The Fabian Society and Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1922) gives one of the best summaries of Marx's achievement. One of the

standard biographies of Marx, particularly from the point of view of intellectual history is Isaiah Berlin's Karl Marx: His Life and Environment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), first published in 1939. Another biographical treatment is Leopold Schwarzschild, The Red Prussian: The Life and Legend of Karl Marx, trans. by M. Wing (New York C. Scribner's Sons, 1947). A comprehensive intellectual history can be found in Sidney Hook's From Hegel to Marx: studies in the intellectual development of Karl Marx (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936). Karl Kautsky, The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx, trans. H. G. Stenning (New York: Macmillan Co., 1936) is the standard exposition of Marxist economics. Mandell M. Bober, Karl Marx's Interpretation of History (2nd rev. ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), includes a bibliographical section. A study of the significance of Marx and Engels as interpreters of history can be found in Leonard Krieger, "Marx and Engels as Historians," The Journal of History of Ideas, XIV (June, 1953), 381-403.

Since the Social-Democrats in the Reichstag functioned as the party's executive committee the Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages (1871-1918) (180 vols.; Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1871-1920), becomes an important source. A historiographical study on the Social-Democrats can be found in William H. Maehl, "Recent Literature on the German Socialists, 1891-1932," Journal of Modern History, XXXIII, 3 (Sept., 1961), 292-306. For short biographical studies of various Socialists see: Franz Osterroth, Biographisches Lexikon des Sozialismus (Hannover: Dietz, 1960). Eduard Bernstein, a Marxist revisionist, presents a comprehensive study of the working-class movement in Berlin, in Die Geschichte der Berliner Arbeiterbewegung (3 vols.; Berlin: H. Weber, 1907-1910). A broader study is Paul Kampffmeyer's Die sozialdemokratie im Licht der Kulturentwicklung. Eine Führung durch die Geschichte, Politik and Literatur der Sozialdemokratie (4. Auflage; Berlin P. Singer, 1913). Evelyn Anderson, Hammer or Anvil. The Story of the German Working-Class Movement (London: V. Gollancz, Ltd., 1945). A standard treatment of Socialism, better on French and English Socialism than on German, but important nonetheless, is G. D. H. Cole, A History of Socialist Thought (5 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1953-60). Herman Heidegger, Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der nationale Staat 1870-1920 (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1956), also presents a discussion of the literature during this period. Leo Stern, Hrsg., Der Kampf der deutschen Sozialdemokratie in der Zeit des Sozialistengesetzes 1878-1890. Die Tätigkeit der Reichs-Commission (2 vols.; "Archivalische Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung": Berlin-East: Rutten and Loening, 1956) deals with the commission that heard

---

appeals under the socialist laws, includes much source material. Gerhard A. Ritter, *Die Arbeiterbewegung im Wilhelminischen Reich: die Sozialdemokratische Partei und die Freie Gewerkschaften 1890-1900* (Berlin: Colloquim Verlag, 1959). An important historical and analytical study of the Marxist movement is George Lichtheim's *Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1961). This work is particularly helpful for it moves from the inception of Marxian theory, to the movement, and then to its petrifaction in the 20th century. A sociological study that sees the Social-Democrats as a sub-culture that developed as a result of the rejection of the working class by the establishment, as well as the result of the self-isolationism of the working class, is Guenther Roth, *The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany: A Study in Working Class Isolation and National Integration* (Totowa, N. J.: Bedminster Press, 1963). A detailed treatment of the membership, locations, and voting records of the Social-Democrat Party can be found in Dieter Fricke, *Die Deutsche Arbeiterbewegung 1869-1890. Ihre Organisation und Tätigkeit* (Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1964). A comprehensive study of the working-class movement is the *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiter Bewegung* (8 vols.; Berlin: Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim Zentral-komitee der SED; 1966). The most significant recent study from the perspective of the relation of the Social-Democratic ideology and practical political activity, including a good bibliography, is Vernon L. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party: Social Democracy in Germany, 1878-1890* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

Some of the specific studies related to the Social-Democrat Party are: Th. Schieder, "Das Problem der Revolution im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift*, LCXX, 2 (1950), 233-71; Ernst Engelberg, *Revolutionäre Politik und Rote Feldpost 1878-1890* (Berlin-East: Akademie-Verlag, 1959), which deals with the relation of the Social-Democrats and their propaganda organs; Abraham Ascher, "Imperialist within German Social Democracy Prior to 1914," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, XX, 4 (Jan., 1961), 397-422; Vernon L. Lidtke, "German Social Democracy and German State Socialism 1876-1884," *International Review of Social History*, IX, 2 (1964), 202-25, attempts to deal with the problem of the impact of Bismarck's policy of state socialism on the policies and activities of the Social-Democrats; and Horace B. Davis, *Nationalism and Socialism: Marxist and Labor Theories of Nationalism to 1917* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967). Among the more important treatments of Lassalle are: Hermann Oncken, *Lassalle. Eine politische Biographie* (3. Auflage: Stüttgart und Berlin: F. Frommann, 1920) and David Footman, *Ferdinand Lassalle. Romantic Revolutionary* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1947). Of particular interest for initial impetus for the formation of the party came from Lassalle. As early as 1863, Lassalle, a social reformer and somewhat erratic politician, had attempted to unite the German working classes under the banner of social regeneration and reform. Under his leadership the Universal German Workingmen's Association (Allegemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein) was formed in Leipzig, designed to become a great national union.[1] The Association of some five thousand members was made leaderless the following year as a result of a duel that killed Lassalle.

In the same year, Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826-1900), a scholar and social revolutionary, was commissioned by Karl Marx to undertake the formation of workingmen's societies

---

August Bebel is his Aus meinem Leben (3 vols.; Stuttgart: J. H. W. Dietz, 1910-14), and Vernon L. Lidtke, "August Bebel and German Social Democracy's Relation to the Christian Churches," Journal of the History of Ideas, XXVII, 2 (April-June, 1966), 245-64. Lidtke's article is also a historiographical study. Liebknecht's correspondence with Marx and Engels is a valuable source for the study of this Socialist leader, Wilhelm P. C. M. L. Liebknecht, Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, hrsg. von Georg Eckert (The Hague: Mouton, 1963). For Johann Most, the Berlin Socialist that plagued Stoecker, see Max Nomad, Apostles of Revolution (New York: Collier Books, 1961), which includes a chapter on "The Preacher: Johann Most, Terrorist of the Word." Also see Rudolf Rocker, Johann Most: Das Leben eines Rebellion (Berlin: Verlag "Der Syndekalist," /F. Kater/ 1924).

[1] For the early programs of the German worker movement see: Franz Mehring, Die Deutsche Socialdemokratie. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre. Eine historisch-kritische Darstellung (Bremen: C. Schunemann, 1877), pp. 223-30.

in Germany based upon Marxian principles. Liebknecht was joined by August Bebel (1840-1913), a labor organizer, in forming the Social-Democratic Labor Party (Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartie) in 1869 at the Eisenach Congress. The Eisenach Party was organized around the principles of a free democratic state, the abolition of all class domination, an international labor association, and the attainment of full economic and political emancipation of the working classes.[1] At Gotha, some six years later, the Social-Democrats were joined by Lassalle's Workingmen's Association and became the German Social-Democrats, or officially the Socialist Labor Party of Germany (Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands). This party fused Marxist Socialism and reformism of Lassalle, advocating a program that sought to establish in Germany a Socialist state on a democratic and republican basis.[2] Among the tenets of the Gotha program were parliamentary government, secular education, individual liberty, the elimination of military and clerical influence in politics, the introduction of heavy income taxes, inheritance taxes, and free trade. The influence of Lassalle was clearly evident in the Gotha program, but as Marxists their emphasis was on internationalism rather than on nationalism.

---

[1] For the party program, see: Mehring, Die Deutsche Socialdemokratie, pp. 227-28.

[2] For the party program, see: Mehring, Die Deutsche Socialdemokratie, pp. 228-30. Karl Marx denounced the compromise Gotha platform in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," particularly for its position that considered the reform of the political system a necessary antecedent of economic freedom. Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," in Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy, Lewis S. Feuer, ed. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959), pp. 112-32. In spite of his criticisms, Marx welcomed the achievement of a unified German Socialist party.

After 1871 many of those dissatisfied in the Protestant areas voted for Socialist candidates. By 1877 the Social-Democrats polled nearly half a million votes and elected twelve members to the Reichstag.[1] Bismarck and Wilhelm I viewed this spread of Socialism with considerable alarm and sought for an opportunity to open a confrontation. During the latter part of the 1870's, Bismarck realized he could not combat the Socialists and political Catholicism at the same time. He concluded that the former were more dangerous. He distrusted even moderate Socialism as potentially anarchist and revolutionary. His fears had been reinforced by the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871. In addition to changing his position as to which group represented the gravest threat to the Empire, the two assassination attempts on Emperor Wilhelm I in 1878 by several Socialists, none of them Social-Democrats, gave Bismarck the excuse to move against the Socialists. The attack on the Socialists consisted in a series of "Anti-Socialist Laws" passed in 1878 and renewed periodically until 1890. These laws stipulated that the Socialist societies and unions were to be disbanded, their meetings prohibited, and their newspapers and periodicals suppressed. A number of Socialist leaders were arrested or exiled. The immediate result of Bismarck's repressive policies can be seen in the 1881 election to the Reichstag, in which the Socialist vote dropped to about three hundred thousand.[1] But in the election of 1884, the vote increased again and continued to do so until 1912 when the Social-Democrats were the largest single party in Germany.[2]

---

[1] There were some 5,500,000 votes cast in 1877. Pinson, pp. 206, 572.

For all practical purposes, the "Anti-Socialist Laws" drove organized Socialism underground and into exile. Such repressive measures, however, were not effective in winning the workers away from the Socialists to a loyalty to the Empire. Bismarck began an extensive program of social legislation during the 1880's, both as a counter measure against the Social-Democrats and as a means to meet the social and economic situation in Germany.

---

1. There were some 5,300,000 votes cast in this election, Pinson, p. 572.

2. Pinson, pp. 208-09, 573.

The Socio-Economic Situation

Even though phases of industrialization were evident in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century, it was only after the creation of the Empire that one could consider Germany a developed industrial-capitalist country.[1] A number of factors contributed to increased industrialization after the Franco-Prussian War. The establishment of the Empire meant uniform and beneficent legislation for industry.

---

[1] An important guide to the economic situation in Germany and various economic positions is Walter Braeuer's *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Volkswirtschaftslehre. Ein bibliographisches Nachschlagewerk* (Frankfurt, a. M.: V. Klostermann, 1952). An early social and economic study of the period is Paul Kampffmeyer, *Geschichte der modernen Gesellschafts-Klassen in Deutschland* (Berlin: T. Glocke, 1896). Heinrich Herkner, *Die Arbeiterfrage. Ein Einführung* (2 vols.; 8. Auflage; Berlin: W. de Druyter und Co., 1922) deals not only with the worker question but also with various proposed and attempted social and economic reforms. The importance of industrialization in the German nation is stressed in Georg Steinhausen, *Deutsche Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte von 1870 bis zur Gegenwart* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1931). Warner F. Brook, *Social and Economic History of Germany from William II to Hitler 1888-1938* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938) emphasizes the continuity of state ascendancy over the economic life of the nation. Gustav Stolper, *German Economy 1870-1940* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1940), includes bibliography. H. Rosenberg, "Political and Social Consequences of the Great Depression of 1873-1896 in Central Europe," *Economic History Review*, XIII (1943), 58-73. John H. Clapham, *The Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914* (4th ed.; Cambridge: The University Press, 1951). An analysis from the Marxist perspective can be found in the comprehensive study Jürgen Kuczynski, *Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus* (38 vols.; Berlin-East: Akademie-Verlag, 1960-67), particularly relevant to this period are vols. II and III. This work also includes a substantial bibliographical listing.

The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine contributed to German industrialization both on account of the existing industry in that area and the vast resources of raw materials. Moreover, the war indemnity from France of some five billion francs made available for German industry large amounts of capital. At the close of the war there was a period of tremendous industrial activity and speculation, so much so that by 1873-74 this outburst of industrial activity and over-speculation culminated in a severe financial crisis. The economic boom and wave of prosperity collapsed. The Empire was to spend the next several decades attempting to recover its lost equilibrium and economic foundations. The economic depression gave rise to an insistent demand for the restoration of the protective system. Bismarck, originally in favor of a policy of free trade, came to the conclusion that the interests of the Empire required a return to a protective policy. Industrialists, the Conservative Party, landowners, and the Center Party advocated such a return with increasing intensity after 1873.

After 1878 Bismarck abandoned the economic doctrine of laissez-faire capitalism, reintroduced protective economic policies, and intervened in the dealings of capital and labor by enacting a number of social laws.[1] Bismarck seemed motivated not only by the general economic condition of Germany but by a humanitarian desire to ameliorate the hardships of

---

[1] William H. Dawson, Bismarck and State Socialism: an Exposition of the Social and Economic Legislation of Germany since 1870 (2nd ed.; London: S. Sonnenschein and Co.,

---

1891). For legislative developments see: Wilhelm Altmann, Hrsg. *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1806* (2 vols.; Berlin: R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1898). Gustav Mayer, *Die Trennung der proletarischen von der bürgerlichen Demokratie in Deutschland 1863-70* (Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1911) provides a description of the social and economic conditions of that time. One of the more important political interpretations of Bismarck's social policies is Hans Rothfels, *Prinzipienfragen der Bismarckschen Sozialpolitik* (Königsberg: Gräfe und Unzer, 1929). Revel C. White, *The Growth of German Social Insurance* ("Indiana University Studies," XX, 102; Bloomington, Ind.: /Indiana University/, 1933), is an economic, sociological, and statistical study of German social insurance. To find out the social make-up of the various parties and their response to Bismarck's social program consult: Willy Kremer, *Der soziale Aufbau der Parteien des deutschen Reichstages von 1874-1914* (Emsdettern: Lechte, 1934). A short but insightful study is Hans Rothfels, "Bismarcks Social Policy and the Problem of State Socialism in Germany," *Sociological Review*, XXX (Jan. and July, 1938), 81-94, 288-302. Otto Quandt, *Die Anfänge der Bismarckschen Sozialpolitik und die Haltung der Parteien (Das Unfallversicherungsgesetz 1881-1884)* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1938), discusses the significance of Bismarck's accident insurance for the workers. Otto Vossler, "Bismarcks Sozialpolitik," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXVII (1943), 336-57. Bengt Seeberg, deals with the Church's reaction to the social policies of Bismarck, "Bismarck und die soziale Frage. Ein Beitrag zur Frage Staatssozialismus und positives Christentum," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LIX, 2 (1940), 388-409. An economic and social study illustrating the problems of compulsory social insurance is Walter Sulzbach's *German Experience with Social Insurance* ("Studies in Individual and Collective Security," No. 2; New York: National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., 1947). A study of the theoretical, personal, and institutional origins of Bismarck's social policies can be found in Walter Vogel, *Bismarcks Arbeiterversicherung. Ihre Entstehung im Kräftespiel der Zeit* (Braunschweig: G. Westermann, 1951). Gerhard Erdmann, *Die Entwicklund der deutschen Sozialgesetzgebung* (2. Auflage; Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1957). A treatment of the relation of the Socialist laws and Bismarck's social policies can be found in Wolfgang Pack, *Das parlamentarische Ringen um des Sozialistengesetz Bismarcks 1878-1890* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1961).

motivated not only by the general economic condition of Germany but by a humanitarian desire to ameliorate the hardships of

---

1891). For legislative developments see: Wilhelm Altmann, Hrsg. *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1806* (2 vols.; Berlin: R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1898). Gustav Mayer, *Die Trennung der proletarischen von der bürgerlichen Demokratie in Deutschland 1863-70* (Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1911) provides a description of the social and economic conditions of that time. One of the more important political interpretations of Bismarck's social policies is Hans Rothfels, *Prinzipienfragen der Bismarckschen Sozialpolitik* (Königsberg: Gräfe und Unzer, 1929). Revel C. White, *The Growth of German Social Insurance* ("Indiana University Studies," XX, 102; Bloomington, Ind.: [Indiana University], 1933), is an economic, sociological, and statistical study of German social insurance. To find out the social make-up of the various parties and their response to Bismarck's social program consult: Willy Kremer, *Der soziale Aufbau der Parteien des deutschen Reichstages von 1874-1914* (Emsdettern: Lechte, 1934). A short but insightful study is Hans Rothfels, "Bismarcks Social Policy and the Problem of State Socialism in Germany," *Sociological Review*, XXX (Jan. and July, 1938), 81-94, 288-302. Otto Quandt, *Die Anfänge der Bismarckschen Sozialpolitik und die Haltung der Parteien* (*Das Unfallversicherungsgesetz 1881-1884*) (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1938), discusses the significance of Bismarck's accident insurance for the workers. Otto Vossler, "Bismarcks Sozialpolitik," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXVII (1943), 336-57. Bengt Seeberg, deals with the Church's reaction to the social policies of Bismarck, "Bismarck und die soziale Frage. Ein Beitrag zur Frage Staatssozialismus und positives Christentum," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LIX, 2 (1940), 388-409. An economic and social study illustrating the problems of compulsory social insurance is Walter Sulzbach's *German Experience with Social Insurance* ("Studies in Individual and Collective Security," No. 2; New York: National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., 1947). A study of the theoretical, personal, and institutional origins of Bismarck's social policies can be found in Walter Vogel, *Bismarcks Arbeiterversicherung. Ihre Entstehung im Kräftespiel der Zeit* (Braunschweig: G. Westermann, 1951). Gerhard Erdmann, *Die Entwicklund der deutschen Sozialgesetzgebung* (2. Auflage; Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1957). A treatment of the relation of the Socialist laws and Bismarck's social policies can be found in Wolfgang Pack, *Das parlamentarische Ringen um des Sozialistengesetz Bismarcks 1878-1890* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1961).

the working classes, and more importantly by a political desire to wean the workers away from Socialism. Many conservatives and political reactionaries favored the method of brutal repression of Socialism, without concession to the workers. Bismarck chose the paternalistic approach seeking to divest the Social-Democrats of their revolutionary program by social reform. Wilhelm I pointed out in his "social message" of 1881 that "the healing of the social ills is not to be carried out by the repression of the Social Democrat excesses but is . . . to be sought in the positive furthering of the welfare of the workers."[1] Thus the state was not only to have the defensive function of protecting the rights of its people, but it was also to have the positive function of promoting the welfare of all its citizens. In 1881 Bismarck introduced the first measure of social insurance but due to opposition in the Reichstag, particularly from the conservative elements, the measure failed to pass. After 1883, however, a number of social insurance laws were passed, including the Sickness Insurance Act (1883), Accident Insurance Act (1884), and Old Age and Incapacity Insurance Acts (1889). Along with such social-insurance measures came a rather complete code of factory legislation, regulating such things as conditions of labor and child labor. The German worker became the first to be protected under the state against many of the hazards of modern industrialism.

---

[1] Quoted in Pinson, p. 245.

The Social-Democrats, faced with the problem of how to deal with Bismarck's social legislation, at first tried to radicalize these measures. When that failed, they denounced them as only halfway measures. The conservative forces denounced Bismarck's social program as an invasion of Socialism. Bismarck, in spite of such opposition, was able to maintain a delicate balance of support, enough at least to retain power, but he was generally unsuccessful in wooing the workers away from the Social-Democrats.

Ecclesiastical Context

In the rising tide of German nationalism, some political leaders, as well as Church leaders, made efforts to create an inclusive national Church union.[1] Such efforts to

---

[1] Particularly helpful for a general introduction and basic bibliography for the ecclesiastical and Church-state situation in the 19th century are such works as: Gustav Krüger, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (4 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1911-33), vol. 4 deals with the 19th century; Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte* (11. Auflage; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1957); and Bernd Moeller, *Geschichte des Christentums* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 1965), helpful but very German in orientation. An early interpretation of the Church in 19th century Germany, by a noted historical theologian, is Reinhold Seeberg's, *Die kirche Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: A. Deicher'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung., [G. Bohme], 1903). Dealing specifically with the Prussian Union is Erich Foerster's *Die Entstehung der Preussischen Landeskirche unter der Regierung König Friedrich Wilhelm des Dritten* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1905-07, also

---

contains reprints of many important documents. Johannes B. Kissling, *Der Deutsche Protestantismus 1817-1917. Eine geschichtliche Darstellung* (2 vols.; Münster in Westf.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918), deals with Church-state relations, the Church and the social question, and theology. Emanuel Hirsch, *Staat und Kirche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1929), finds the basic problem in Church-state relations to be the new concepts of the state and state authority that emerged after 1789. Godehard J. Ebers, *Staat und Kirche im Neuen Deutschland* (München: M. Hueber, 1930). Kippel S. Pinson, deals with the problem of the relation of religion and politics in his *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934). Helmut Tiedemann, *Staat und Kirche vom untergang des alten bis zur Gründung des neuen Reiches (1806-71)* (Berlin: Verlag dr. Emil Ebering, 1936), includes a good bibliographical section. Ewald Schaper, *Die geistespolitischen Voraussetzungen der Kirchenpolitik Friedrich Wilhelms IV. von Preussen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938). A more general treatment is Kurt D. Schmidt, *Staat und Evangelische Kirche seit der Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1947). Franz Schnabel's *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (4 vols.; 3. Auflage; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder und Co., 1947-51) deals, in vol. 4, with the Church-state problems and the effort at Church union in Prussia. Theodor Steinbüchel, *Zerfall des christlichen Ethos im XIX. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a. M.: Knecht-Carolusder., 1951). Heinrich Hermelink, *Das Christentum in der Menschheitsgeschichte von der französischen Revolution bis zur Gegenwart* (2 vols.; Tübingen u. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler u. R. Wunderlich, 1951-53). Hans Liermann, *Kirchen und Staat* (2 vols.; "Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Staatslehre und Politik e. v. Mainz," Bd. 5; München: Isar Verlag, 1954-55). For a treatment in English see: Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Nineteenth Century in Europe: The Protestant and Eastern Churches* ("Christianity in a Revolutionary Age; A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," vol. II; New York: Harper and Brothers, Publ., 1959). Karl Kupisch reprints sources for German Protestantism, with brief introductions, in his *Quellen zur Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus 1871-1945* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1960). Peter Fuch, Hrsg. *Staat und Kirche im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1966). Two more specific studies of Protestantism and 19th century German politics are: Hajo Holborn, "Protestantismus und politische Ideengeschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLIV, 1 (1931), 15-30, and Fritz Fischer, "Der Deutsche Protestantismus und die Politik im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXI, 3 (1951), 473-518.

found a unified Church, parallel to a unified state, were hampered not only by traditional theological and confessional differences but also by the particularism of the various territorial Churches (*Landeskirchen*) and the tradition of the various rulers to control the Churches in their domains as the "supreme bishop."

There was, however, an important precedent for such efforts toward Church unification in the Prussian Union of Frederick Wilhelm III, ruler from 1797-1840.[1] Wilhelm, a

---

[1] J. L. Neve, *The Lutherans in the Movement for Church Union* (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication House, 1921), is a study of union attempts since the Reformation, with particular emphasis on the Prussian Union of 1817. Richard Marsson, *Die preussische Union* (Berlin: G. Stilke, 1924), is primarily a constitutional study of the 1817 Union. Walter Geppert, *Das Wesen der Preussischen Union* ("Furche-Stud.," Heft 21.; Berlin: Furche-Verlag, 1939), sees the Union as based upon common Christian confession rather than on an enforced confessional agreement, and therefore not absorptionist. Another study of the Union concerned with the confessional relations of the Lutherans and Reformed is Peter Brunner's *Das lutherische Bekenntnis in der Union; ein grundsätzliches Wort zur Besinnung, zur Warnung und zur Geduld* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1952). A good summary statement of the various positions held regarding the Union, even though heavily dependent upon Walter Geppert, is Matthias Schulz, "The Altpreussische Union," trans. Siegfried J. Lehmann, *Concordia Theological Monthly*, XXXL (Jan., 1960), 5-22. A comprehensive study of the ecclesiastical situation, theological developments, and Church-state relations, is Johannes B. Kissling's *Der Deutsche Protestantismus (1817-1917), eine geschichtliche Darstellung* (2 vols.; Münster: Aschendorff, 1917-8). Günther Holstein, *Die Grundlagen des evangelischen Kirchenrechts* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr /Paul Siebeck/, 1928), sees the Union as a latent consensus, tacitly assuming agreement on confessional fundamentals. Particularly helpful for yearly statistics and summaries of the developments in various areas of Church life are the *Kirchliches Jahrbuch* published yearly at Gütersloh by C. Bertelsmann, Johannes Schneider, editor.

One of the major questions during the 19th century man of personal piety, had a personal interest in the Church and in the promotion of the spiritual welfare of his people. The Church union, however, was motivated as much by political considerations as by spiritual ones: consolidation of Protestantism was seen as an aspect, if not a tool, of political consolidation. In 1817 a royal proclamation declared that both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches were to constitute "a renewed Evangelical Christian Church."[1] The confessional basis of the Union was to be the points of doctrinal agreement, and thus the essentials, while all elements of disagreement were relegated to the status of non-essentials. The Union, as proclaimed and enforced on the King's authority, tended to be absorptive in character, based upon a distinction between fundamentals and non-fundamentals both in theology and confessions. Both Lutherans

---

was the organization of the Church, i.e., a state Church or a _Volkskirche_. Gerhard Ritter, "Das Problem einer evangelischen Volkskirche und das Erbe des 19. Jahrhunderts," _Die Wartburg. Deutsch-evangelische Monatschrift_, XXIX (1929), 369-78. Friedrich Mahling, _Der Wille zur Volkskirche_ (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1929), sees the emergence of the idea of a _Volkskirche_ due to the significance of Schleiermacher. Karl Heim, _Deutsche Staatsreligion oder evangelische Volkskirche_? (Berlin: Furche-Verlag, 1933). Alfred Adam, _Nationalkirche und Volkskirche im deutschen Protestantismus. Eine historische Studie_ (Göttingen: Vandernhoeck und Ruprecht, 1938). Daniel R. Borg, "Volkskirche, 'Christian State,' and the Weimar Republic," _Church History_, XXXV (June, 1966), 186-206. Borg, although focusing on the Weimar Republic, deals with the 19th century background and particularly with Stoecker's idea of _Volkskirche_ and Christian state.

[1] Quoted in Neve, _Lutherans and Church Union_, pp. 116-17. A better translation would be the Protestant Christian Church in order to prevent confusion over the word evangelical.

and Reformed, heretofore confessionally distinct and separate, were placed under the same Church government, a kind of episcopal system with the superintendents directly under the authority of the King. A common order of service, prepared by the King himself, was forced upon all congregations. Open communion became the sign of the new Union Church. Both traditional confessions, however, were to retain their authority, i.e., the Union was not to be completely absorptive.[1] There were many parishes within the Union that continued to be specifically Lutheran or Reformed, particularly in more conservative and confessionally oriented communities. The primary unifying factor of the Union was clearly the state. Severe penalties, for example, were to be inflicted for disobedience and non-compliance. Because of the dominance of the ruler in the territorial Church, there was little room for self-government in congregations. Lay participation was held to a minimum. Even though local congregations tended to retain their traditional confessional stance, communion and Church appointments were to be open to all. In spite of the fact that the Union was designed to be comprehensive, in practice it tended to be formal and structural allowing for the continuation of traditional distinctions on the local level.

---

[1] One of the major problems of the Prussian Union was the fact that within a formal union based upon an agreement of fundamentals, there were mutually exclusive positions on such theologically crucial and divisive issues as the means of grace, the Word of God, and the sacraments.

Even though the Union in Prussia, and other union efforts in the first half of the nineteenth century were generally well received, almost from the outset protest was leveled against such efforts. Not all Churchmen and congregations were reconciled to the idea of ecclesiastical or theological consolidation.[1] Protests against the Union grew into a revival of conservative confessional Lutheranism. With this revival came a renewed emphasis upon the Lutheran interpretation of the sacraments and confessions. According to the view of the conservative Lutherans what the Union really meant was that one could not remain faithful to the Lutheran confession without opposing the Union.[2]

Due primarily to such growing opposition to this state imposed Union and to the general absorptive character of the Union, Frederick Wilhelm decided in 1834 to reform the Union into more of a confederation. Three factors, however, remained in force: first, the non-confessional state Church government, second, the common order of service, and third, the outward Church-fellowship at the altar.[3] The theologians supporting the Union, primarily from the Mediation school of theology (Vermittlungstheologie), sought a common confession for the Union. But due to opposition both to the theological and ecclesiastical consequences of the Union, the government could not adopt, officially at least, any of these confessions.

---

[1] One of the initial protests against the Protestant Christian Church was sounded by the conservative Lutheran Claus Harms whose "Ninety-five Theses" of 1817 denounced the Union and advocated Churches based upon confessional standards. Neve, Lutherans and Church Union, p. 120.

[2] In Prussia, for example, a group known as the "Old Lutherans," following this line of thought, not only dissented from the Union but organized an independent Church in order to preserve their own integrity.

[3] Neve, Lutherans and Church Union, p. 128.

After 1848 there were other attempts at union and cooperation among Protestants in Germany, e.g., the Kirchentag, which met at regular intervals until 1872. The Kirchentag represented an important effort of the German Churches to relate to the new political and economic forces and movements that marked the emergence of Germany as a national entity and industrial power. Confessional differences, however, proved to be the major stumbling block to the formation of a united German Protestant Church. The Kirchentag did succeed in the formation of a league of German Churches out of which emerged the Central Committee for the Inner Mission, providing centralized coordination for the Inner Mission movement. A movement, somewhat parallel to the Kirchentag, was the Protestant Church Conference (Evangelisch-Kirchliche Conferenz), that met almost annually from 1852-1882.[1] Eventually all the territorial Churches took part, even that of Austria. The purpose of these Conferences was the discussion of questions of Church life, and the promotion of a more uniform development of the territorial Churches without compromising the independence or integrity of any of them.

---

[1] The primary moving force in the Protestant Church Conference was the Kingdom of Württemberg, and particularly its court preacher Karl von Grüneisen. Latourette, The Nineteenth Century, p. 86.

Most of the successful unions were accomplished in the first half of the century, especially in the readjustment after the Napoleonic era. Such efforts were carried out in the various states but not in a systematic fashion throughout Germany. Unions of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches were facilitated not only by the state control of the Churches but also by the influence of the Enlightenment and the pietistic awakenings.[1] The rationalistic tendencies of the Enlightenment minimized the importance of dogma and confessions, while the impact of the awakenings was to emphasize individual religious experience over against ecclesiastical authority. Both tended to reduce the significance of the distinctive characteristics in the Lutheran and Reformed traditions.

After the formation of the Empire in 1871, no nationwide union emerged, due in part to the desire of the various territorial Churches to maintain their independence. A kind of cooperation, that had emerged prior to 1871, continued both on the official level, as in the various Church Conferences, and on the more individual level, as the Inner Mission movement. But in spite of such nascent ecumenical tendencies, the German Protestant Churches remained territorial Churches, reflecting the political division of the Empire, and remaining to a large extent under state control.

---

[1] The awakenings and revivals that took place within German Protestantism during this period displayed great variety, some emphasizing historic confessions, others individual piety. These awakenings cut across confessional lines in a resurgence of Christian piety. For a treatment of the impact of these awakenings on various sectors of German Protestantism, see e.g.: Latourette, The Nineteenth Century, pp. 61-77.

Within the formal structure of the Protestant Churches, there were certain distinctive tendencies, evident primarily on the local level, characterized by an increasing role of the laity in ecclesiastical affairs. Even though the role of the laity was increasing, and even though there was a general movement toward autonomy among many congregations, this was not considered a significant enough threat to the state control of the Church to issue in a confrontation comparable to that with the Roman Catholics. Some of the more conservative Protestant proponents opposed the lessening of the tie between the Church and state in local congregations, holding that the state had not only the right but the responsibility of reform, inspection, and protection of the Church. It was primarily from this group that Bismarck drew most of his ecclesiastical support for the *Kulturkampf*. Among other Church leaders, primarily those affected by the religious awakenings and the more liberal theological perspectives, came an objection to the subordination of the Church to the secular authorities. It was from this group that the demand for a peoples' Church (*Volkskirche*) was most vocal. In spite of such demands, the control of the Church remained largely in the hands of the state, the various Church Councils, and the Supreme Council at Berlin. Almost as a matter of social convention, many within the jurisdiction of the territorial Church had their children baptized and continued to pay the state levied Church tax. The German rulers continued their support of the Church, regarding it as a bulwark of their power and the social order.

Theological Context

One of the important contributions of nineteenth century German Protestantism was in the area of theological studies.[1] In a general sense, one can speak of an almost bi-polar development in nineteenth century German Protestant theology. Theological liberalism, on the one hand, generally assumed that orthodox theology was neither possible nor adequate in the nineteenth century and attempted, therefore, to reconstruct Christian religion and theology on a basis independent of its confessional heritage. Minimizing the authority of revelation and Scripture, theological liberalism preferred instead to work with various philosophical presuppositions. In general this theological position can be

---

[1] Among the more important surveys of 19th century developments in Germany theology would be Otto Pfleiderer's *Die Entwicklung der Protestantischen Theologie in Deutschland seit Kant und in Grossbritannien seit 1825* (Freiburg i. B.: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr /Paul Siebeck/, 1891). Another early history of theology is Franz H. R. von Frank, *Geschichte und Kritik der neueren Theologie, in besondere der systematischen, seit Schleiermacher* (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1898). A treatment of 19th century theological developments as they relate to the prevalent intellectual patterns can be found in Werner Elert, *Der Kampf um das Christentum; Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen dem evangelischen Christentum in Deutschland und dem allgemeinen Denken seit Schleiermacher und Hegel* (München: C. H. Beck, 1921). F. W. Ferdinand Kattenbusch, *Die deutsche evangelische Theologie seit Schleiermacher, ihre Leistungen und ihre Schäden* (4. Auflage; Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1924). An introduction in English is Hugh Ross Mackintosh, *Types of Modern Theology. Schleiermacher to Barth* (London: Nisbet and Co., Ltd., 1937). An important interpretation of the theology of the 19th

---

century by one of the influential 20th century theologians, is Karl Barth's *Die Protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert. Ihre Vorgeschichte und ihre Geschichte* (Zollikon/Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1947). This work is helpful not only for its synthetic sections but for its analysis of individual theologians. A standard and comprehensive treatment is Emanuel Hirsch's *Geschichte der neuern evangelischen Theologie, im Zusammenhang mit den allgemeinen Bewegungen des europäischen Denkens* (5 vols.; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1949-54), vol. 5 is particularly relevant for the 19th century. Andrew L. Drummond, *German Protestantism since Luther* (London: The Epworth Press, 1951), is a good general history of German Protestant theology. An interpretative survey of German intellectual life, including theological developments, is Heinz Gollwitzer's *Europabild und Europagedanke. Beiträge zur deutschen Geistgeschichte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: C. H. Beck, 1951). Holsten Fagerberg, *Bekenntnis, Kirche und Amt in der deutschen konfessionellen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1952), begins with the theological positions relative to the Prussian Union. A shorter synthetic interpretation, is Karl Barth's *Evangelische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert* ("Theologische Studien," Heft 49; Zollikon-Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1957). Horst Stephan, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Theologie seit dem Deutschen Idealismus* ("Sammlung Töpelmann. Erste Reihe: Die Theologie im Abriss," Band 9; 2. Auflage von Martin Schmidt; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1960). Paul Tillich, *Perspectives on 19th and 20th Century Protestant Theology*, ed. by Carl E. Braaten (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), is an impressive synthetic treatment of theological trends in the 19th century.

characterized as apologetical theology with an anthropological starting point. Outstanding illustrations of this development are the theologians in the tradition of Schleiermacher, and those of the Hegelian, Ritschlian, and Historico-Religious schools. Conservative theological development, on the other hand, sought to maintain the fundamentals of Reformation theology. More in the tradition of Protestant Orthodoxy, the conservative theologians tended to be confessionally and Biblically oriented. They assumed a defensive, often polemical, stance against theological liberalism, especially over the issues of the right to alter the fundamentals of historic Christianity, the theological starting point, the authority for theology, and the nature and significance of revelation.

The theological faculties of Halle and Berlin in the 1860's, the places and time of Stoecker's theological education, were under the influence of the conservative side of the theological spectrum. Stoecker singled out Professor Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck (1799-1877) at Halle and Professor Karl Immanuel Nitzsch (1787-1868) at Berlin as having had considerable influence on his theological development. Both of these theologians were part of the conservative theological movement. Tholuck, one of the most distinguished of the theologians of the German awakening, accepted the orthodox interpretation of Luther's work as normative. He was on the forefront in the theological attempt to reinstate

Pietism against the more rationalistic theology prevalent in the academic centers at that time. It was not, however, the narrow Pietism found in eighteenth century German Protestantism, that Tholuck advocated, but an evangelical "new life" of the latitudinarian variety, making room even for Biblical criticism.[1] Nitzsch, on the other hand, was the outstanding representative of the Vermittlungstheologie or the Mediation school of theology. For Nitzsch the primary emphasis was on the reformed tradition of freedom and progress. Essentially his outlook was synthetic, upholding a "consensus ideal."[2] Common to both of these theological perspectives was the primacy of the Bible as the chief source of piety and authority. Both strongly supported the Prussian Union.

Protestant-Social Movement

In addition to the pietistic theology of the "new life" and the conciliatory position of Mediation theology, Stoecker's theological and social perspective was most profoundly affected by the Inner Mission movement of Johann H.

---

[1] Drummond, p. 128. In addition to the histories of theology cited, see Walther Zilz, August Tholuck, Professor, Prediger, Seelsorger ("Zeugen des gegenwärtigen Gottes," Band 158; 2. Auflage: Giessen: Brunnen-Verlag, 1962), first published in 1930.

[2] Drummond, p. 202. For a detailed treatment of Nitzsch see Willibald Benschlag, Karl Immanuel Nitzsch. Eine Lichtgestalt der neueren deutsch-evangelischen Kirchengeschichte (Halle a. S.: Eugen Strien, 1882).

Wichern (1808-1881).[1] Not since the time of August Francke

---

[1] An important source book that traces the Inner Mission movement is Martin Henning, Hrsg., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Inner Mission* (Hamburg: Rauhen Hauses, 1912). For Wichern's writings see: Johann H. Wichern, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, hrsg. von Karl Janssen (3 vols.; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1956-62), contains an introduction to Wichern in the first volume, and Peter Meinhold, Hrsg., *Johann Hinrich Wichern. Sämtliche Werke* (4 vols.; Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1958-62). An early sympathetic treatment of Wichern is Friedrich Oldenberg, *Johann H. Wichern. Sein Leben und Wirken; nach seinem Schriftlichen* (2 vols.; Hamburg: Rauhen Hauses, 1884-87). Martin Hennig, *D. Johann H. Wicherns Lebenswerk in seiner Bedeutung für das deutsche Volk* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1908), is a treatment of Wichern from one directly involved in the Inner Mission movement as a director of the *Rauhe Haus*. Theodor Schäfer, *Johann Hinrich Wichern. Sein Leben und seine bleibende Bedeutung* (2. Auflage; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1908). Hermann Sandt, *Studien in Johann Wicherns Pädagogik* (Leipzig: Jul. Klinkhardt, 1913). Martin Gerhart, *Wicherns Lebenswerk, ein Weg zur Volkskirche* (Hamburg: Agentur d. Rauhen Hauses, 1927-31). Erwin Meissner, *Der Kirchenbegriff Johann Hinrich Wicherns* ("Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie," 39 Bd., 3 Heft; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1938), contains a bibliographical listing. Maria Klügel, *Wichern. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sozialpolitik* ("Protestant Studien," Heft 27.; Berlin: Verlag d. Evang. Bundes, 1940). Ernst Benz, *Wichern und der Sozialismus* ("Evang. Schriftendienst," Heft 7.; Stuttgart: Evang. Verlagswerk, 1949). Gerhard Noske, *Wicherns Plan einer kirchlichen Diakonie* (Stuttgart: Evang. Verlagswerk, 1952). R. Grunow, *Wichern - Ruf und Antwort* (Gütersloh: Rufer-Verlag, 1958). Rolf Kramer, *Nation und Theolgoie bei Johann H. Wichern* ("Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte Hamburgs," Heft 2.; Hamburg; Wittig, 1959). Paul Göhre, *Die evangelisch-soziale Bewegung. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Ziele* (Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Grunow, 1896), is written from the perspective of a disciple of Friedrich Naumann. Dietrich von Oertzen, a disciple of Stoecker and personally involved in the Inner Mission, gives a sympathetic treatment of the movement in his *Von Wichern bis Posadowsky* (Hamburg: Rauhen Haus, 1908). Johannes Steinweg, *Die Innere Mission der evangelischen Kirche* (Heilbronn: E. Salzer, 1928). Martin Gerhardt, "Innere Mission und christlich-soziale Bewegung," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LI (1932), 281-304. The standard treatment of the Inner Mission movement is by the same author, *Ein Jahrhundert Innere Mission. Die Geschichte des Central-Ausschusses für die Innere Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirche* (2 vols.; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1948).

(1663-1727) had a German Protestant appeared on the scene with the ability to organize practical religious affairs, to analyze the spiritual temper of the age, or to grasp the Gospel's meaning of Christian responsibility.[1] Wichern was one of those outstanding figures of the nineteenth century German Church who exerted a great influence upon the practical piety of the German people. His reinterpretation of the Christian understanding of charity, previously associated with the individual and personal activity was one of his important contributions to the Protestant tradition. For Wichern, charity was understood in the socio-religious sense of the spiritual rebuilding of the entire nation. Within this perspective Christian charity and service were coupled with the objectives of Prussian conservatism and the Protestant Church of the Prussian Union. After 1848, Wichern's program gained public force by allying with the attempt to restore a Christian-conservative monarchy in Prussia. As a conservative religious figure, Wichern opposed the more radical social and political perspectives that had emerged following the revolutionary year of 1848. Even though a social conservative, his significance was in broadening the scope of Christian charity which made possible the ideas and programs of a general moral rehabilitation.[1]

---

[1] William O. Shanahan, German Protestants Face the Social Question: The Conservative Phase. 1815-1871 (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1954), p. 70. This work is probably the most significant, as well as comprehensive, treatment on this problem. It is not only well documented but contains substantial bibliographical listings.

Wichern maintained that the depth of a man's piety was relative to his situation in the world. Religious faith would increase, therefore, if some of his earthly burdens were lifted. Out of such an understanding came Wichern's concern for individual social problems. Within Wichern's perspective, Christianity was moved from the realm of private consciousness alone to include also man's situation and public life. He remained dependent upon the organic conception of society that characterized the pre-1848 period. This tended to minimize the effectiveness and adaptability of his approach in the latter half of the century. In part due to the influence of such theologians as Schleiermacher, Wichern sought to create a community bound by simple devotion, a Volkskirche, where people were both worshipers and priests. The idea of the priesthood of all believers became the dynamic for many of Wichern's practical activities. It was his insight to see that the creativity and significance of faith also had meaning for man's situation, for through faith, man's moral redemption could alter his temporal existence.[2]

---

[1] Shanahan, German Protestants, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 73.

As other social minded contemporaries, Wichern's initial concern was for the moral and physical welfare of children. While a theological student, he participated in an attempt to preach to working class tenement dwellers. This was an effort to bridge the social and religious gap between the working class and the establishment, a task that the Church had failed to do. The experience convinced him of the need to remove orphans and abandoned children from such tenement environments in order to teach them useful trades and a Christian life, thereby molding each into a productive member of a Christian society. It was Wichern's innovation to deal solely with working class children. A home and training school, the Rauhe Haus, came into existence outside Hamburg in 1833, under his guidance and direction. The Rauhe Haus, although humble in its beginnings, became not only a symbol of Protestant social activity but a model for many similar attempts both within and outside Germany. Even though Wichern did not become a social reformer, in the strict sense of these words, his attempt at the Rauhe Haus and his concern for the relation of the individual to the primary social institutions of family, state, and Church, opened the door for Christian social reform activities. Wichern had no intention of remaking social institutions but to strengthen religion among all classes of society and thereby renew all of Christendom.

By 1844 the Rauhe Haus had become a training center for the ministry of the "lay assistants" and the social workers. Through his aggressive co-workers, and through his periodical Fliegende Blätter, Wichern began to make the nation the field for his evangelical mission and social activity. With aristocratic patronage and the grand program of the Inner Mission movement, Wichern sought to have Christian influence permeate the pressing problems of the day. Generally avoiding political issues, Wichern's concern was with practical social problems, primarily on the individual level. It was the genius of Wichern to combine a social and evangelical concern in his Inner Mission movement.[1]

The two problems, singled out by Wichern as the most pressing, were the need for unity among the German Protestants and the need for a vital religious-moral force that would be able to combat and defeat the irreligious forces of the day. Because of Wichern's general conservatism and support of the political and social establishment, the Inner Mission was endorsed and supported by Frederick Wilhelm IV (1840-61). It was seen to have two basic responsibilities: first, to be the formal organization for the more than a thousand charity and voluntary organizations,[2] and second, to be a vehicle for conveying to the Church the concern for the moral and material problems raised by industrialization. But these rather lofty objectives must be seen within the framework of Wichern's sympathy for the "Christian-German" sentiments of Frederick Wilhelm IV. This sentiment tended to enclose the Inner Mission in the sterile outlook of Prussian conservatism and to buttress the status quo. The social activity of the Inner Mission, for example, seemed to presume the validity of the existing public order, including not only the divine sanction of government, but also inequalities in wealth, privilege, and rights.[1]

---

[1] Shanahan, German Protestants, pp. 76-77.

[2] Protestant voluntary agencies and societies flourished in 19th century Germany, especially among those affected by the awakenings and revivals. Most of these efforts were carried out by the laity, generally outside the ecclesiastical organization. Among these agencies were orphanages,

It was Wichern's aim, then, to safeguard popular piety by appealing for the establishment of a Church based upon the concrete activity of Christian love and charity. In such a community, the bond of Christian love and social activity would bridge the gaps between socio-economic stratifications. Wichern saw in lay activity and voluntary agencies the promise of the return of the disestablished groups to the Church and the hope of overcoming the religious disenchantment of the people. In such an emphasis upon the priesthood of all believers, Wichern felt he had the most effective vehicle for mission activity as well as the most effective weapon for

---

homes for the destitute, hospitals, schools, and cooperative associations. Consult, Latourette, The Nineteenth Century, pp. 101-13 or for a more detailed treatment, Shanahan, German Protestants.

[1] Shanahan, German Protestants, p. 87.

combating the irreligious forces of his day. Wichern's primary objective, then, was to rebuild man's character not social institutions. He was particularly concerned with the Christian family, for it was from the family's almost innate redemptive strength that Wichern expected a general social renewal. The foundation of such a renewal was faith. Every aspect of German thought and life was to be regenerated. The Landeskirchen must become Volkskirchen. The laity must be stirred from their traditional apathy. Christians must move out of their passive lives of safety and exclusivism and into an active fellowship and involvement in the pressing problems of the day. It was the conviction of Wichern, and those like minded Christians, that voluntary associations might accomplish what state and organized ecclesiastical efforts had failed to achieve, viz., the restoration of confidence between the people and the Church.[1]

The activities of Wichern and the Inner Mission movement must be seen in the context of Protestant and Catholic efforts to relieve and remove the suffering that accompanied the dramatic changes of the nineteenth century.[2] There are numerous organizations, voluntary associations, and figures that illustrate the surge of activity in nineteenth century Christianity in Germany.[1] Three of these figures are particularly important for an understanding of Stoecker, they are Viktor Aimé Huber (1800-1869), Rudolf Todt (1839-1887), and Adolf Wagner (1835-1917).

---

[1] Drummond, p. 214.

[2] There are many volumes dealing with the Christian response to the social problems of the 19th century. Friedrich Grossmann, "Die evangelischsoziale Bewegung in Deutschland," Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, und Volkswirtschaft in Deutschen Reich, XVI (1892), 103-26. Rudolf Stammler, Sozialismus und Christentum. Erörterungen

---

zu den Grundbegriffen und den Grundsätzen der Sozialwissenschaft (Leipzig: Verlag von Felix Meiner, 1920). Karl Dudey, "Die Deutsche Evangelische Christenheit zur sozialen Frage," *Deutsch Arbeit*, IX (1924), 307-23. Wilhelm Dockhorn, *Die christlichsoziale Bewegung in Deutschland* (Halle: Buchh. D. Waisenhauses, 1928). Martin Spahn, "Die christlichsoziale Bewegung," *Hochland*, XXVI (1928-29), 174-82. Hans Eger, *Der evangelischsoziale Kongress: Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte und Problemstellung* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1931). Reinhard Mumm, *Der christlichsoziale Gedanke* (Berlin: Mittler, 1933). Heinz-Horst Schrey, "Die Kirche und die soziale Frage," *Theologische Rundschau*, XXI, 1 (1953), 15-62, is a bibliographical article that is a rather comprehensive listing of the major treatments. Halmut Faust, *Ursprung und Aufbruch der Genossenschaftsbewegung* (Neuwied am Rhein: Verlag der Raiffeisendrucherei, 1958). Günter Brakelmann, *Kirche und Sozialismus im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Analyse des Sozialismus und Kommunismus bei Johann Hinrich Wichern und Rudolf Todt* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1966).

Some of the more important works on various of the individuals within the Protestant-Social movement, in addition to the treatments in the above books, would include: S. K. Munding, *Viktor A. Huber, Ausgewählte Schriften über Sozialreform und Genossenschaftswesen* (Berlin: A. G. Pionier, 1894) and the standard interpretation of Huber in Ingwer Paulsen, *Viktor Aimé Huber als Sozialpolitiker* ("Freidewalder Beiträge zur sozialen Frage," Band 7; 2. Auflage: Berlin: Herbert Renner, 1956). Evalyn A. Clark, "Adolf Wagner: From National Economist to National Socialist," *Political Science Quarterly*, LV, 3 (Sept., 1940), 378-411.

[1] For a detailed account of this religious activity and for the various figures and groups within the Protestant-Social movement, see Shanahan, *German Protestants*.

Viktor Huber's program of economic and vocational associations was one of the early uniquely Protestant social approaches.[1] He believed such worker associations were the most effective way to deal with the conditions and poverty of the urban masses.[2] Huber, a political conservative, maintained that man could improve his lot by self-help, i.e., by cooperative associations that joined the rich and poor under the banner of "responsibility from above, and self-help from below." After 1850, renouncing the conservative political perspective as an ineffective vehicle for implementing his program, Huber spent the remainder of his life in political isolation. He tried to develop the various possibilities of a non-political social reform by appealing to individual responsibility and capital in the name of Christian responsibility. He sought to influence Wichern and the Inner Mission movement to become more than a federation of charities, undertaking self-help associations.[3] As a result, Huber found himself at odds with Wichern not only in terms of policy and activity but in terms of personality differences. Failing to alter Wichern's position, Huber channeled his activity in support of the self-advancement of the working class through collective bargaining. A basic

---

1. Traeder, Die sozialpolitischen Anschauungen Adolf Stöckers, p. 3.

2. For a treatment of Huber's idea of association, see Paulsen, Viktor Aimé Huber als Sozialpolitiker, pp. 133-50.

3. Shanahan, German Protestants, p. 283.

problem was Huber's failure to create or cause a movement, his efforts often remaining a single-handed crusade. One of the more important contributions for the Protestant-Social movement was Huber's attempt to shift the general atomistic and individualistic attitudes so prevalent in much of German Protestantism to a new social outlook concerned with all aspects of life.[1] Like many of those with conservative orientations, Huber's ideas were often dated, in that they were derived from the pre-1848 situation. This is particularly evident in his romanticized ideal of the monarchy. Unlike most of the conservative-Protestant figures, however, he did not remain confined by an essentially agrarian perspective of the nation and of Christianity. Huber was concerned not only with the problems resulting from industrialization, but also with its potential and possibilities, especially as related to Christianity.

Rudolf Todt, a pastor in the Brandenburg region, responded to Stoecker's early plea for an examination of the Socialist position from the New Testament point of view with his Der radikale deutsche Socialismus und die christliche Gesellschaft, first published in 1877. This book, needless to say, caused quite a sensation in the Protestant-Social movement. Todt appropriated much of the Marxist critique of society, particularly in his denunciation of the

---

[1] Hübner, Die sozialethischen Anschauungen Adolf Stöckers, p. 30.

"Manchester-capitalism," which he considered to be the root cause of the degeneration of community.[1] He believed that as long as the Church continued to give its blessing to the existing order, Socialism would continue to be anti-Christian.[2] This, however, need not be the case if Christianity would develop a social consciousness. Todt was one of the earliest in the Protestant tradition to give state intervention in the interest of the exploited classes a theological basis.[3] He saw the Gospel as the key to the solution to the social problem. To the general Socialist analysis of society, Todt applied rather specific Biblical and evangelical solutions. Largely as a result of his book, Todt together with Adolf Wagner and Adolf Stoecker, and others, formed the Central Association for Social Reform upon Religious and Constitutional Foundations (Zentralverein für Sozialreform auf religiöser und konstitutioneller Grundlage) in 1877. This group of social intellectuals, using their organ Staatssozialist, advocated a position of state-intervention, denouncing all forms of liberal economics. The leadership of this group passed rather quickly from Todt, who was concerned with local organization. He had, however, by that time, made a significant impact on the Protestant-Social movement and on Stoecker as well, by providing one of the important systematic statements for the Protestant social tradition.[1]

---

[1] See e.g.: Rudolf Todt, Der radikale deutsche Socialismus und die christliche Gesellschaft, pp. 461-67.

[2] Todt, Der radikale deutsche Socialismus, pp. 63-65.

[3] Brakelmann, Die soziale Frage, p. 57. See, e.g., Todt, Der radikale deutsche Socialismus, pp. 9-10.

Adolf Wagner, professor of political economy at the University of Berlin, was much less sympathetic to Socialism than was Todt. He sought to transform Marxist Socialism into German State-Socialism.[2] Wagner's cultural nationalism was characterized by intolerance, anti-Semitism, militarism, organistic concept of society, and "a romantic cult of the soil."[3] Wagner, one of Bismarck's economic advisors, was an important exponent of State Socialism. While a young professor, he helped form the Association for Social Politics (Verein für Sozialpolitik), a group known as the "Socialists of the chair," ("Kathedersozialisten") since most were intellectuals far removed from the working classes.[4] They agreed that the welfare of the national organism took precedence over individual and class interests.[5] By 1877, when Wagner helped form the Central Association for Social Reform, he had drifted away from the "Socialists of the chair," assuming a more conservative State-Socialist position. By that time he had written several books on political economy in which he expounded his State-Socialist position.[1] He advocated a national Church that would instigate a moral and religious regeneration of the nation, resulting in a "true German Christianity."[2] Wagner attempted to draw economics and Christianity together upon a common ethical basis. But due to his admiration of political power, _Realpolitik_ always seemed to transcend religious or moral principles.[3] He believed that only an immediate redress of the conditions of the lower classes by state-directed social reform could avert a revolution. His state-directed social reforms were based upon the so-called "Wagner's law," that state control would increase as a necessary corollary of increasing national power and the growth of the _Kulturstaat_.[4] He favored labor unions and other self-help efforts as accompanying measures to state intervention and regulation. The most important issue singled out by Wagner was that of wages, although he considered education and moral standards to be of significance in coming to terms with the social problem.[1] In 1878 Wagner was closely associated with Stoecker and the formation of the Christian-Socialist Workers' Party. He became a vigorous advocate of anti-Semitism, on economic and social grounds, and was particularly active in the Berlin Movement.[2] Wagner was also associated with Stoecker in the Protestant-Social Congress.

---

[1] Brakelmann, Die soziale Frage, p. 57.

[2] Clark, "Adolf Wagner," p. 378.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Both Clark, "Adolf Wagner," p. 394 and Shanahan, German Protestants, pp. 388, 397 use the phrase "Socialists of the chair." A more accurate translation would be "Socialists of the lecturing desk." Such a translation is also more illustrative of the fact that many in this group were professors.

[5] Clark, "Adolf Wagner," pp. 393-94.

---

[1] For a full exposition of Wagner's position and for a bibliography of Wagner's works see: Clark, "Adolf Wagner," pp. 378-411.

[2] Clark, "Adolf Wagner," p. 398.

[3] Shanahan, _German Protestants_, pp. 399-400.

[4] Clark, "Adolf Wagner," p. 397.

From nineteenth century Christendom had come revolutionary events, ideas, and forces threatening and challenging Christian faith and organized religion. And yet during this same period German Protestantism was alive and vital, particularly in the proliferation of voluntary agencies and charitable activities in an effort to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and to evangelize the various disestablished classes. For the most part such efforts, often issuing from conservative theological and political perspectives, did not hope for the creation of a utopian Kingdom on earth. Rather it was an attempt to leaven society with the Christian message and life-style and to create cooperative associations to serve as examples and as the conscience for society as a whole.

---

[1] Shanahan, German Protestants, pp. 402-403.

[2] Clark, "Adolf Wagner," p. 399.

Chapter III

ADOLF STOECKER'S UNDERSTANDING OF CHRISTIAN-SOCIALISM AS THE HUMANIZATION OF MAN FROM A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

5

Christian-Socialism was not only Adolf Stoecker's alternative to Marxist Socialism, but was also the integrating framework for his life and thought. It was, in his understanding, the authentic interpretation of historic Christian faith. The touchstone, then, for understanding Adolf Stoecker and his contribution to a social consciousness within German Protestant Christianity is his understanding of the Christian faith in terms of Christian-Socialism, the drive for the humanization of man and his environment as seen from within the Christian perspective. Also important is his idea of personhood or humanity. Because a person was a human being, a creature of God, he had the right to a secure and humane existence.[1] This idea was the dynamic force in his Christian-Socialist perspective.

---

[1] See e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Zur Begründung einer christlich-sozialen Arbeiterpartei," (Jan. 3, 1878), Christlich-sozial, p. 4.

Such a concern for the process of humanization led Stoecker to attack many institutions, structures, and attitudes that he considered de-humanizing, and to offer constructive alternatives. For Stoecker, then, Christian-Socialism was an attitude, a consciousness, a sensitivity, and even a faith that could only more or less adequately be formulated into programs and concrete actions. In dynamic moments, Christian-Socialism served as a thrust for reformation in the Church and for reform in society. The formulation of programs and explicit objectives, however, tended to crystallize and petrify this reforming spirit. Accordingly, the Christian-Socialist perspective of Stoecker must be seen on two levels, primarily as a reforming spirit concerned with the humanization of man and secondarily as a program.

Stoecker's concern for the humanization of the public life (das öffentliche Leben) led him into the political and social arena. His sensitivity and concern for the dignity and worth of each man caused him to attack such structures as laissez-faire capitalism, the labor system, and the state Church, as well as the spirit of individualism and materialism, the breakdown of community, the lack of concern for the security and livelihood of each person and for the alienation of great masses of people from established society, and for the subversion of the religious-ethical basis of life by the Jews, Liberals, and most especially the Social-Democrats. This is not to say that Stoecker was not concerned with the private life. He was most certainly true to his tradition of Lutheranism and German Pietism, as is so evident in his many volumes of sermons. But his prevailing concern was for the humanization of life for all men. He possessed an aggressive missionary spirit, as is evident again from his sermons and from his association with the Inner Mission movement. He differed, however, from the social orientation of the German Pietists of the eighteenth century and from the Inner Mission movement in that his social concern was not only with individuals, for he sought to reform, and even transform, social institutions and structures as well. The politicization of the Protestant social concern, previously individualistic in approach, is one of the primary contributions of Stoecker to the developing social consciousness of the German Protestant Church.

Stoecker's Christian-Socialism was at base a confessional or faith stance. He was well aware of this fact. His understanding of this faith stance led him to reinterpret the Christian message into political and social terms. His understanding of the Christian faith forced him to confront many of the existing life-styles and thought patterns, to analyze and criticize them, and to offer statements of his position in defense. A systematic exposition of his position was not Stoecker's style, as is evident in his form of expression: articles, sermons, speeches, and essays.[1] In dealing with particular and immediate issues and problems, he remained consistent with what can be called his Christian-Socialist position.[2] Clearly his position included long range goals and objectives, as well as a fairly definite theoretical and theological base, but his primary concerns focused upon immediate needs and problems. Therefore one must sift Stoecker's basic perspective from a multitude of statements.[3]

The Confessi [illegible] r's
The [illegible]

Adolf Stoecke [illegible] logian in the

---

[1] Among the wo [illegible] me ten volumes of sermons, each a collec [illegible] sermons; several scores of articles and spee [illegible] nich are collected into larger volumes; and nume [illegible] says. There is, however, no systematic statement of his position.

[2] This judgment can be evidenced in several ways: (1) a general consistency in his objectives, (2) repetition of the same themes in his writings, and (3) the similarity of his 1878 program and that of 1895.

[3] The focus of this study is on Stoecker's perspective as a response to the social problem and as an alternative to Marxist Socialism. Since his perspective and program remained consistent with his early formulations and statements during the period of the late 1870's and early 1880's, the explication of this perspective will be done largely independent of a biographical and chronological framework.

expression: articles, sermons, speeches, and essays.[1] In dealing with particular and immediate issues and problems, he remained consistent with what can be called his Christian-Socialist position.[2] Clearly his position included long range goals and objectives, as well as a fairly definite theoretical and theological base, but his primary concerns focused upon immediate needs and problems. Therefore one must sift Stoecker's basic perspective from a multitude of statements.[3]

The Confessional Position: Stoecker's Theological Framework

Adolf Stoecker was not an original theologian in the sense of producing a systematic interpretation of the Christian faith. Rather his confessional framework was part of the tradition of the theology of mediation (Vermittlungstheologie) and traditional Lutheran confessional theology, focused particularly on the Augsburg Confession. Even though the foundation and pivotal points in his confessional position remained within a traditional framework, the implication of his understanding of that framework, particularly that dealing with the practical and social ramifications of Christianity, was a reinterpretation of the traditional faith. Stoecker's modification, then, came not in reference to the fundamentals of orthodox faith so much as in their implications and applications.[1] Given the context of his time, Stoecker was traditional in doctrine but unconventional in practice.[1]

---

[1] Among the works of Stoecker are some ten volumes of sermons, each a collection of some fifty sermons; several scores of articles and speeches, many of which are collected into larger volumes; and numerous essays. There is, however, no systematic statement of his position.

[2] This judgment can be evidenced in several ways: (1) a general consistency in his objectives, (2) repetition of the same themes in his writings, and (3) the similarity of his 1878 program and that of 1895.

[3] The focus of this study is on Stoecker's perspective as a response to the social problem and as an alternative to Marxist Socialism. Since his perspective and program remained consistent with his early formulations and statements during the period of the late 1870's and early 1880's, the explication of this perspective will be done largely independent of a biographical and chronological framework.

---

[1] This distinction can be made in terms of the difference between theology and ethics. Stoecker understood his theological position to be in line with the Augsburg Confession and the Lutheran Church of his time. The ethical import of this position, however, was understood in different terms. While accepting the basic tenets of traditional Lutheran theology, he understood their significance for the life of a Christian in different terms than did the existing Church. Stoecker's social and political emphasis, over against the individualism of the existing Church, is a prime example. Even though this distinction between theology and ethics is descriptively helpful in understanding Stoecker's position, theology and ethics cannot be separated. His understanding of theology was to a large extent in ethical terms, and not just in terms of belief. But then his understanding of ethics was often in theological terms. The two were mutually dependent and necessary aspects of Christian faith.

Stating Stoecker's theological position simply, the basis of all reality is the God revealed by Jesus Christ, and if God is lost, by accommodation, acculturation, or denial, then all is lost.[2] One's stance relative to the Christian faith was that of an either/or: either one accepted the Christian perspective and lived an authentic existence or one remained an inauthentic man.[3] Yet the Christian faith could not be divorced from its historical situation, for it had much to say both to the present situation and conditions of human existence, especially, for Stoecker, with reference to the social problem.

---

[1] Friedrich Brunstäd maintains that Stoecker was not an original theologian and that he did not found a theological school. Adolf Stoecker; Wille und Schicksal, p. 41. Such a judgment is valid but somewhat misleading for Stoecker's modification of individualistic Christianity and its theological rationale was, if not original, at least a different emphasis and interpretation than was prevalent in traditional theology. In one sense Stoecker's Christian-Socialist movement, since he was concerned with the political and social interpretation of Christianity, could be considered his theological school. The problem with Brunstäd's judgment is that it is the application of formal categories to describe Stoecker, his theological understanding and movement, that simply are not very helpful.

[2] Stoecker, "Zur Begründung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 5.

[3] Adolf Stoecker, "Der Kampf des Lichtes Gegen die Finsternis, der Charakter und die Aufgabe der Gegenwart," (Dec. 3, 1880), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 97.

In Stoecker's understanding, theological expression was the result of reflection on the movement of the truth of God to the life and reason of man, i.e., it was the movement of faith.[1] Theology was, therefore, the knowledge of the truth, as an expression of faith. He opposed the devastating use of Biblical criticism as a means to establish a criterion of the truth of revelation. Protestant theology, Stoecker claimed, was not interested in critical or analytical problems of modern theology, rather it was concerned "with the solid foundation of the Church in divine truth, with the company of co-workers, and with the certainty of belief."[2] The problem with liberal, critical theology was its over-emphasis upon doubt and scientific criticism and insufficient stress on faith and the call to reform.[3] Stoecker saw the result of such critical theology to be the equating of revelation with the history of nature, and redemption with world history.[1] This would result in such theological positions as rationalism, deism, or pantheism. Stoecker, on the other hand, claimed that what was needed was to listen and hear the Word of God.[2] It was not that he was uncritical. But he maintained that to use an autonomous, rationalistic and scientific world-view as the criterion of judgment of the truth of God's revelation was not valid. In fact this was just the reverse, for God's revelation was the *a priori* that judged the validity and authenticity of a world-view.[3] The truth of revelation is not an object standing over against theology but the principle and very presupposition of theology. Thus authentic theology was the explication and interpretation of the presupposition of the truth of revelation. Theology was, then, not the knowledge *of* revelation but knowledge *as* revelation.[4]

---

[1] One of the important aspects of Stoecker's theologizing was his attempt to explicate the Christian faith, the foundation of his Christian-Socialist perspective. The issue of authority was one of the crucial issues in his understanding, particularly as it related to the Bible and revelation. He also sought to describe the nature of God as revealed to men, the nature of man, the nature of the relationship between God and man, and the role of man in the created orders.

[2] Adolf Stoecker, "An der Grenze zweier Jahrzehnte," (Jan. 2, 1880), Christlich-sozial. Reden und Aufsätze (Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing, 1885), p. 516.

[3] Adolf Stoecker, "Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis," (Oct. 14, 1892) (2. Auflage; Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1892), p. 5.

---

[1] Stoecker, "Das apostolische Glaubenbekenntnis," p. 12.

[2] This is a common theme, see, e.g.: Stoecker, "An der Grenze zweier Jahrzehnte," *Christlich-sozial*, p. 516.

[3] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Welche Gefahren drohen dem kirchlichen Bekenntnis seitens der modernen Theologie und was können die evangelischen Gemeinden tun zur Abwehr?" (Oct. 23, 1902) (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1903), p. 3.

[4] This distinction is made by Friedrich Brunstäd, "Adolf Stoecker als Theologe," p. 290.

Revelation, as a given, is what one starts with in the process of theologizing.[1] Revelation, or at least man's awareness of revelation, is the result of the experience of the appearance of the truth of God in the lives of men, almost as an invasion of a higher truth. Human reason was not considered trustworthy by Stoecker, since it was caught within the web of the sinful condition of man. In this sense then Stoecker falls in the classical theological tradition of epistemological dualism, for religious-theological knowledge, grounded in revelation, was considered to be of a different sort than other types of knowledge.[2] Even though theology was understood as the movement of the truth of God to the lives of men, it was verifiable, according to Stoecker, only by experience and application.[3]

Clearly Stoecker was in conflict with much of the theology of his time, especially liberal theological positions. His theological stance as confession simply would not allow him to take the route of accommodation and adaptation to culture. The absolutizing of such a cultural theology was considered invalid as well as deceptive, for it rested on the historicity of culture. It was God's creative Word, rather than the various cultural expressions, that was the truth of all reality. It was not that Stoecker was not cognizant of historicity and change in theology. He was quite aware that the truth and revelation of God had been and is understood and expressed differently, e.g., medieval Christianity, German mysticism, Reformation Protestantism, Protestant Orthodoxy, and German Pietism.[1] There appears to be no attempt in Stoecker's understanding to maintain a straight-line theological orthodoxy in Christian history. It is rather that Stoecker sought to make the problematical distinction between the truth or Word of God and man's

---

[1] Stoecker, "Welche Gefahren," p. 10.

[2] See, e.g.: Stoecher, "Welche Gefahren," p. 18. This distinction assumes considerable significance in Stoecker's understanding of his perspective as founded upon a unique and superior form of knowledge. Revelatory knowledge was not only superior to empirical knowledge, but was the criterion by which other forms of knowledge were tested. Man's understanding and knowing was finite and incomplete. Ultimate truths had to be revealed to him. Stoecker believed that his perspective, in contradistinction to the Marxists, was founded upon such ultimate truth.

[3] This is a common theme in Stoecker and appears in many of his writings. "The truth of the religious life must either be true for all or for none, only then, if it

---

rules all, if it is like a living power of respect in the whole people and is verified in the hearts of people, only then is it truly an inner power that serves the homeland of salvation." Adolf Stoecker, "Christlich-konservative Ziele für die Gegenwart," (Apr. 1, 1881), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 248. The theme of Stoecker's experientially based theology is developed by Friedrich Brunstäd in "Adolf Stoecker als Theologe," pp. 287-302. Brunstäd also makes the observation that, especially in his sermons, Stoecker made considerable use of the analogia fidei. "Adolf Stoecker als Theologe," p. 293.

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Der religiöse Geist in Volk und Heer während des französischen Krieges," (1876), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 134-135. Even though here he is particularly concerned with the different forms of the German Christian spirit, he nevertheless admits that the revelation of God has been understood in different terms.

understanding of this truth.[1]

Stoecker considered the theological situation of his day to be one of crisis. A number of liberal Protestant theologians, for example, had taken the step of denying supernatural revelation and Biblical authority. Some even went so far as to consider Jesus Christ as only a "great man" or "a religious hero" and others saw him only as "a phantasy."[2] Modern theology, according to Stoecker, worked from the dubious assumption of science and history that there is no such thing as mystery. Such an assumption had the effect of undercutting revelation as understood in traditional Christian faith.[3] Stoecker used two tests to determine the authenticity of theological expression: (1) the position taken regarding the divinity of Jesus Christ, and (2) the stance relative to the resurrection of Jesus Christ as actual event.[4] According to these criteria, modern theology was found wanting.

---

[1] According to Stoecker the truth of God was absolute and therefore constant throughout history. Man's understanding of this truth varied in different times and situations. The commonality was, then, not necessarily in man's understanding but in God's revelation. This theme is developed in "Welche Gefahren."

[2] Stoecker, "Welche Gefahren," pp. 4-7.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 13.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 19. Stoecker placed his confidence in a faith commitment rather than in rational or theological justification. True reason was a gift of God, so that in faith man becomes aware of God as the source of all truth. In that sense, Stoecker remains within the tradition of faith seeking understanding, for faith **precedes** knowledge. This was Stoecker's confessional stance. Understanding and reflection presupposed a prior faith commitment. The Christian commitment was a given for Stoecker.

There were those, both within and outside the Church, who claimed that the Biblical faith perspective could no longer be maintained with the results of modern scientific findings. But such a claim, according to Stoecker, was based upon a misunderstanding of the Bible, particularly at the level of the distinction between literal and religious expression.[1] If properly understood and accepted, it was not an affront to reason.[2] Real critical methodology was not the uncritical reason used by liberal theology to accommodate Christianity to culture, but rather the critique of reason that drove man to despair and scepticism about reason itself. Such a condition is then alleviated only by conversion and

---

1. Adolf Stoecker, "Ist die Bibel Wahrheit?" Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 69-71. This writer takes such a distinction to be the meaning of his differentiation of the Word of God and the words of Scripture.

2. He used the thorny issue of miracles as an example. Whereas Jesus lived in a time that believed in the reality of miracles, as did Luther for that matter, disbelief in the reality of miracles need not undercut the significance and meaning of the Biblical message. Adolf Stoecker, "König Hiskias, die Volksschule und der Berliner Fortschritt," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 86. Miracles were seen almost as historically conditioned vehicles for conveying the message of the truth of God. It was not that he sought to deny the reality of miracles. The miracles of God's revelation, and most particularly the resurrection of Jesus Christ, were of primary importance in Stoecker's understanding. Rather he wanted to shift the emphasis of concern from the miracle as a vehicle or medium of expression to the message.

God's gift of true reason.[1]

Central to Stoecker's confessional perspective was the Biblical witness to the truth of God. One can most simply characterize his theology as Biblical theology.[2] The Scripture, as the document and witness of God's activity with men, was the primal source of his theologizing. He had no simple or naive view of direct communications or verbal inspiration. Yet he considered it a mystery that God acted in history with and for men in such a manner that when these acts, witnessed to in the Scriptures, were confronted within the context of the faithful community, the possibility of faith was opened up.[3] The Truth and Word of God is thus mediated through the Scripture. The authority of the Scriptures was a given and self-authenticating--it had to be so for Stoecker or else some outside criterion would have become the real authority. It was God's creative Word, rather than the measure of human reason, that is the truth of all reality.

---

[1] Stoecker, "Welche Gefahren," pp. 18-19. This is the implication of his critique of modern theology and his understanding of theology as based upon revealed knowledge.

[2] The Old Testament, according to the understanding of the court preacher, was an integral part of God's revelation to man. It was not so much a monument to Israelite-Jewish religious history as it was the account of God's history of salvation. The Israelites, not because they were God's people, but because they were chosen by God to be his people, became the vehicle for this salvation history. It is clear from his sermons that Stoecker was particularly attracted to the Prophets and the devotional material of the Old Testament, especially the Psalms.

[3] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Ist die Bibel Wahrheit?" Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 64-78.

Over against those theological perspectives that denied the validity and authority of the Bible, Stoecker felt the necessity to present a case for the truth of the Scriptures. He recognized that this problem was particularly acute for Protestants, for there was no authoritative Church tradition to fall back upon.[1] Without the Scriptures, Protestants were without an authoritative base. Stoecker maintained the distinction between the words of Scripture and the Word of God revealed in the words of Scripture.[2] It was clear that the Bible "did not fall from heaven."[3] He in no way sought to undercut the historicity of the Bible, particularly as related to the individuality and personalities of the writers of the Biblical material.[4] And yet it was miraculous that through the human words, the divine Word was manifest and revealed. He acknowledged that there was much in the Bible that was time-bound and historically-conditioned, e.g., the concepts of devils and angels and even the idea of propitiation, but the living and creative Word of God is nevertheless mediated through these very words.[1] In that sense, then, the Bible is not just a human book, for it mediates the power to convict and change the lives of men.[2] It is the practical and existential argument for the validity of Scripture that seems to be the most convincing for Stoecker, e.g., he has experienced such a reality and has seen the lives of others changed, due to the truth mediated in Scripture. Thus the ultimate test was the relevance of the Bible as mediator of the Word and Truth of God in dealing with the existential and social plight of men. Rather than appealing to dogmatic presentations of Christianity, Stoecker made his appeal to the perspective and life-style induced by the Word of God.[3] It was not that he wanted to rule out the dogmatic presentation of the Christian faith, but that he felt that Christianity as a style of godly life was the most adequate means of evangelizing and witnessing. Only such an understanding gave man the necessary impulse for concrete acts of love and for service to one's fellowmen.[1]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Ist die Bibel Wahrheit?" Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 64.

[2] Ibid., pp. 65-66, and Adolf Stoecker, Wach' auf, p. xii. Günther Minia seems to place too much emphasis on Stoecker as a literal interpreter of the Scriptures, e.g., "it was the word of Scripture that helped him and gave him the saving answer." Die Bedeutung des Hof- und Dompredigers Adolf Stoecker, p. 20. Rather than the word of Scripture, it was the Word of God conveyed through the words of Scripture that provided him with answers. The distinction is important for it prevents Stoecker from falling into the trap of literalism.

[3] Stoecker, "Ist die Bibel Wahrheit?" Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 67.

[4] Ibid., pp. 66-67.

---

[1] Stoecker, "Ist die Bible Wahrheit?" Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 70.

[2] Ibid., pp. 74-76.

[3] "We do not proclaim Christianity merely as doctrinal theology but as a Weltanschauung. Certainly Christianity is doctrinal because it is revealed. But there is more under the banter of dogma, dogmatics, and orthodoxy, these often being groundless. If Christianity is divine truth then it must be crystalized in forceful and clear forms and statements. But Christianity is not just doctrinal theology: it

Stoecker's theological position can be outlined in terms of five essential points: (1) God is the creator and ruler of the world, giving man the responsibility for His created world; (2) mankind exists in error and sin, and therefore, needs outside help to fulfill these responsibilities; (3) God through His revelation, is also redeemer, thereby providing the necessary outside help for man; (4) mankind is equal in sin before God, but not before men, except in the Church, where the Christian believers have love for one another; and (5) the Kingdom of God will be accomplished, there will be a judgment of the world, separating the good from the evil.[2]

---

is also a godly life from the heights, moral strength from the depths; it is a power that can be replaced by no other . . . . Christianity alone can give man the impulse, the goodness, and the strength to resist evil." Adolf Stoecker, "Die Bedeutung der christlichen Weltanschauung für die brennenden Fragen der Gegenwart," (July 21, 1881), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 264-265.

[1] Stoecker, "Die Bedeutung der christlichen Weltanschauung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 265.

[2] Ibid. Such an outline gives a general summary of Stoecker's confessional position. The exposition of these points, at least in Stoecker's understanding, fell within the tradition of the Augsburg Confession. This Confession was

Reality was seen by Stoecker in a traditionally dualistic framework. The reality of God was outside and over-against worldly and human reality. The manner of God's relations to the world was in terms of intervention, i.e., God acted in history. The personalism of Biblical language about God's activity is generally assumed by Stoecker.[1] One of the implications of such language was a dualistic understanding of history. He saw two levels of history: human and natural history, and the saving, redemptive history of God's activity.[2]

---

considered the authoritative guide in his theologizing. Brunstäd, for example, considers Stoecker's reliance upon the Augsburg Confession to be a clear indication that he "was a true child of the Reformation." "Adolf Stoecker als Theologe," p. 26. Stoecker, in his exposition of these points, speaks of waiting for the day of judgment and for eternal rewards. This writer takes his understanding of waiting to have both active as well as passive connotations. The Christian community waits in worship and in anticipation for the act of God, but it also waits by preparing the world for the coming Kingdom of God. This latter understanding was evident in his understanding of the Church involved in the social and political arena in the interests of the disinherited of society.

[1] This is merely to say that Stoecker accepted the Biblical understanding of God as an active, personal Being. Since God was understood to interact with men, there was a unique history of God's activity.

[2] This dualistic understanding of history is a common assumption in Stoecker and is manifest in a number of places in his writings, see, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 59. The theme of Stoecker's similarity to Heilsgeschichte theology is noted by Friedrich Brunstäd, see, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker; Wille und Schicksal, pp. 47, 48, 56ff. Because Stoecker was convinced that his position was founded upon revealed truth, he had confidence that his activity was part of the redemptive activity of God. The humanization process was part of the saving history of God.

God, in Stoecker's understanding, was not a deus philosophorum of metaphysics or rationalistic theology, neither was He a wholly transcendent or substantive Being, nor a hypothesis or postulated object in man's thought, but He is an acting personal presence.[1] God is not described by words like The One or World-Substance, but by the more relational and personalistic terms such as Lord, King, Creator, and Judge. God is not known directly but indirectly through revelation and His acting presence.[2] God remains the Deus Absconditus. And yet He is the God revealed in Jesus Christ. The living God is both the hidden God yet revealed and the revealed God yet hidden.[3] The sheer mystery and incomprehensibility of God was enough to prevent Stoecker from taking the idols created by human reason with any seriousness. God, then, reveals Himself in history, and most particularly in the event of Jesus Christ. Stoecker's Christocentric theology pointed to the reality of God as love.[4]

---

1. Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 61.

2. This idea is implicit in much of Stoecker's theologizing, particularly in his preaching, see, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, Verheissung und Erfüllung. Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten über alttestamentliche Texte (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1897), p. 265.

3. See, e.g.: Stoecker, Verheissung und Erfüllung, pp. 124ff.

4. The theme of God is Love is struck over and over in Stoecker's sermons, see, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, Beständig

God, therefore, is not a fixed One but living fullness and Love.[1]

Man's authentic understanding of himself comes only through the essential truths of Scriptural revelation. All men are sinners--this is universal and categorical for Stoecker.[2] The universal sinful nature of all men meant that before God all men are equal in status. Pride, the source of sin, is most acutely manifested in unbelief and its resulting egocentric actions.[3] Sin, then, is at the root of all sins. Stoecker was well aware that many philosophies and even some theologies assumed the essential goodness of man, but such anthropological positions were neither true nor borne out in reality. The state of sin, which describes the

---

in der Apostellehre. Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten über die Episteln der Eisenacher Perikopenreihe (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1901), pp. 173-202.

[1] Paricularly instructive for Stoecker's understanding of basic theological tenets is his essay "Welche Gefahren drohen dem kirchlichen Bekenntnis seitens der modernen Theologie, und was können die evangelischen Gemeinden tun zur Abwehr?" for in it, he juxtaposes his more traditional and confessional position with a number of the current theological positions.

[2] The sinful character of man and an essentially pessimistic anthropological position is a common theme in all of Stoecker's writings. One of the more interesting expositions of this theme, in which he seeks to defend his position against the more optimistic anthropology of liberal theology, can be found in: Adolf Stoecker, "Zur Gemeinschaftspflege und kirchlich-sozialen Arbeit," (May 1, 1899) (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1899), pp. 10-26.

[3] An example of this common motif can be found in Stoecker's "Der Kampf des Lichtes gegen die Finsternis," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 97.

status of natural man, is the state of separation and alienation from the very Creator of man's existence, the living presence of God. The separation of man from God is the result of man's abusing his freedom and his failure to accept his status as creature and not as Creator or God. Stoecker saw man attempting to create his own God, generally in terms of the elevation of self. Alienation results, then, from man's effort to elevate parts of God's creation, finite and temporal realities, considering them infinite and ultimate. Man, according to Stoecker, must accept his creaturely status in order to become authentically human.[1] This meant that authentic man existed in an awareness of his dependence upon God. It also meant that such a man, created in the image of God, accepted his God-given responsibility for the dominion over the earth. Man was thus given the responsibility and duty to care for and maintain God's creation. It is clear that for Stoecker the responsibility of man included not only nature, but other men and the structures and institutions in which they live.

The court preacher assumed the traditional Lutheran formulations of God's reconciliation with man.[1] Grace, for example, was not seen as a supernatural substance infused in man but as the personal will and love of God.[2] Grace was understood by Stoecker in relational and personalistic terms. He held to the traditional doctrine of justification by faith but modified the more orthodox formulations by a renewed emphasis on the manifestation and verification of faith in works. Clearly there is Biblical precedent for such an emphasis and even precedent in Luther himself, in his life if not in his theology.[3] It was this re-emphasis on the necessity of works as the manifestation and outgrowth of authentic faith that became the basis of his political and social interpretation of Christianity.[4] Faith without works was considered by Stoecker to be either dead or of little worth. Yet it must be emphasized that for him works clearly come from faith. There is no sense of works righteousness in his understanding. The good works that concerned him most were those dealing with the social and existential problems of mankind.

---

[1] One can find this theme in many of Stoecker's sermons, see, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, _Wandelt im Geist! Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten über freie Texte_ (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1889), pp. 80-82.

---

[1] Stoecker did not give an exposition of the nature and character of God's reconciliation with man. He relied on traditional statements, especially the Augsburg Confession, in his sermons. God's reconciliation was an existential reality for Stoecker that needed little explanation.

[2] Stoecker, as part of the Protestant tradition, maintained the traditional stress on the polarity of man's sinful character and God's redeeming grace. The primary emphasis in Stoecker's sermons seems to be on the attempt to convict man of his sin. Even so, there is considerable space given to God's grace, see, e.g.: Stoecker, Beständig in der Apostellehre, pp. 77-83 and Adolf Stoecker, „O Land, höre des Herrn Wort! Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten über die Episteln des Kirchenjahres (3. Auflage; Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1888), pp. 376ff.

[3] As Brunstäd correctly notes, Stoecker often used the Book of James because of its emphasis on the value and necessity of works. Adolf Stoecker; Wille und Schicksal, p. 54. Works, however, were always considered a manifestation of faith in Stoecker's understanding.

[4] The theme of faith producing good works is clearly evident in the Augsburg Confession. See, e.g.: "The Augsburg Confession," Creeds of the Churches, ed. by John H. Leith (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., /Anchor Books/, 1963), pp. 69-70. Finding this theme in both the

Stoecker's confessional position was the framework for his Christian-Socialist perspective. Revelation as the Word of God was the starting point and authoritative base for his theologizing and consequently for his perspective. He was firmly convinced that his position was founded upon revealed truth. Revealed knowledge about God, man, and the world, he believed, separated his perspective from that of Marxist Socialism. His confessional position also provided the framework within which he understood the Christian message and its implications for the Christian community.

Political and Social Christianity: Stoecker's Interpretation of the Christian Message

The implication of Stoecker's understanding of the Christian faith was to interpret the traditionally individualistic perspective in political and social terms. Rather

---

Bible and the Confession, Stoecker considered his position to be a reaffirmation of authentic Christianity, over against the present form of Christianity as private faith.

than an exclusive concern for the fate of an individual soul and its location in the life to come, Stoecker called for a more inclusive concern that included social problems of all mankind.[1] The Gospel is not just evangelical but "a great social force."[2] He sought to have the renewed life manifest in concern and love, and most particularly in the involvement in the process of social reform and humanization.[3] Social and political activity were seen not only as necessary manifestations of Christian love but as the real means of evangelism. "Christianity belongs in political, social, and industrial life."[4] Social action, therefore, was an inseparable part of Christian mission.[5] According to Stoecker, Wichern and the Inner Mission movement was the great impetus for social Christianity, but Wichern applied his socially conscious Christianity at the level of individuals, not on the political level.[1] Picking up a Biblical image, Stoecker asserted that Christianity had a great role to play in the political and social spheres of life as the "salt of the earth."[2] The Church, then, was to be the agent of reconciliation in society, since it was called to serve humanity and not just a particular class or interest group.[3] Properly understood the Gospel is "the magna charta for the toilers and heavy laden, for the poor and the distressed."[4] It was his belief that the commission to the Church was to prepare the world and mankind for the coming Kingdom of God.

---

[1] He considered the individualistic emphasis of traditional Protestantism to be the basic error of the Church of his time. In large measure this was due to an overemphasis on the Church as the congregatio sanctorum and not enough stress on the Church as a missionary and service community.

[2] Adolf Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," (Sept. 22, 1879), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 192.

[3] Ibid., pp. 192-193. The use of the word humanization is this author's interpretation of Stoecker's basic intention.

[4] Adolf Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 193.

[5] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Die Kirche und das öffentliche Leben," (April, 1887), Wach' auf, p. 231.

---

[1] Stoecker made this point in many of his writings, see, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Christlich-sozial, evangelisch-sozial, kirchlich-sozial," (1904), Reden und Aufsätze, p. 159. As Daniel Borg correctly notes, there were two general approaches to what was called the social problem, one stressed the ethic of love through repetitive acts of charity, both private and organized, the other added the dimension of social justice and sought through public law not only ameliorative measures but a reorganization of production and distribution in order to strike at the economic roots of need. "Volkskirche, 'Christian State,' and the Weimar Republic," p. 198. Wichern's approach was clearly the former, Stoecker's was the latter. Stoecker's position, however, also included the aspect of the necessity of a religious-ethical renewal of the German people and the nation.

[2] Stoecker, "Christlich-konservative Ziele für die Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 248.

[3] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, Das Salz der Erde. Ein Jahrgang Zeitpredigten (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1892), p. 226. In Stoecker's understanding there could not be political, socialist, or even party Christianity, but there was, and must be, Christian politics, socialism, and parties. Adolf Stoecker, "Die Kirche und das öffentliche Leben," Wach' auf, p. 232.

[4] Stoecker, "Christlich-sozial, evangelisch-sozial, kirchlich-sozial," Reden und Aufsätze, p. 160.

In Stoecker's understanding, appropriate and lasting social action had to be based upon a religious-ethical foundation. He considered the social activity of non-Christians to be significant but tentative since it was not carried out within a religious-ethical context.[1] Only such a basis could sustain a person or community in continual social reforming activity. To those without such a foundation, the impetus to action was an appeal to self-interest, survival, and other egocentric factors. Whereas a Christian was involved, not for selfish interest, but as a natural and direct manifestation of his Christian faith. Redemption, therefore, changed not only the man but consequently changed man's relation to other persons and to his environment.[2] Ideals and virtues such as freedom, justice, and brotherhood had meaning and lasting significance only with such a religious-ethical context. Christianity was thus not an addendum to his social position but the very foundation. He was socially concerned because he was a Christian and not the other way around. But then his understanding of Christianity was essentially socially oriented. The two quite naturally and necessarily went hand in hand for Stoecker.[1] Christian love is the great magnetic force that draws people into community and creates a common concern for the needs of the other.[2] Built upon redemption, the authentic Christian community can approach the Kingdom of God on earth.[3]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Der Ernst unsrer kirchlichen Lage," (July 7, 1877), Christlich-sozial, p. 473. This is the implication of his understanding that while the Church can work with non-Christians for certain immediate objectives, the mission of the Church must be carried out by the faithful.

[2] Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 192.

In Stoecker's understanding of human history, Christianity had played a great part in the process of the liberation of man from various forms of bondage. "Christianity is the great event in world history from a social point of view."[4] The Christian movement did much to free slaves and serfs from bondage and was presently an important force in the equalization of women and men. He hoped to capitalize upon this tradition of social reform and to unleash its potential as a social and liberating force in his day.[1]

---

[1] In a recent article, Daniel Borg points out that "it is generally recognized that the leading figures of German Evangelical churches before 1918 were politically conservative, ardently nationalistic, monarchical in sentiment, and quietistic in relation to outstanding social issues." "Volkskirche, 'Christian State,' and the Weimar Republic," p. 186. With the obvious exception of the last point, this characterization fits Stoecker. This illustrates just how similar, and yet how different, Stoecker was to his fellow Protestants.

[2] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Zur Handwerkerfrage," (Mar., 1880), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 241.

[3] Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 192.

[4] Adolf Stoecker, "Der Hass der Sozialdemokratie gegen das Christentum," (Jan. 18, 1878), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 11.

Even though the Bible and the Christian message provided no readily applicable formulas for the social problem, it did provide the fundamental perspective from which the problems of society could be met.[2] He found in the Bible the impetus and the spirit of concern for the pressing needs and problems of humanity.[3] That is even though it did not provide social programs or economic guide lines to deal with immediate or long-range social problems, the Bible did provide the necessary attitude and spirit to deal with these problems.[4] For example, if the world was seen as God's creation, then on the issues of land and production, man would think less of private acquisition and profits and more of stewardship, service, and social benefit.[1] This is an important example for Stoecker, for he begins with the theoretical premise that ultimately all property and possessions are God's. Such a premise relativized man's ownership to the purposes of God.[2]

---

[1] It is interesting to note that Christianity seemed to be a cure-all for Stoecker, taking care of all sorts of problems and difficulties, eliminating appeal of the Social-Democrats and the Liberals.

[2] Stoecker, "Christlich-konservative Ziele für die Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 249. Stoecker presented this theme in other writings as well, see, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Die Kirche und das öffentliche Leben," Wach' auf, p. 206.

[3] Stoecker, "Die Bibel und soziale Frage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 190-191.

[4] Ibid., p. 188. As is clear from his understanding of Christianity, Stoecker was primarily concerned with social ethics. Over against the prevailing individualistic ethics of the Protestant Church, he interpreted Christian love and duty in social terms. He maintained that the great Commandment to love God and one's fellowman was to be interpreted within a social context.

In large measure Stoecker's social orientation was due to his understanding of the Christian faith as communal. Not only was man a political and social being but Christianity by its very nature was a community or Church faith. His renewed emphasis upon the community of the Church was in opposition to the more traditional notion of Church as a collection of pious individuals.[3] For Stoecker there was a wholeness and unity in Christian community. Here he was dependent upon the Romantic idea of the people (Volk).[1] Volk conveyed the idea of an organic unity between persons so that an authentic person was necessarily part of a community. This can be illustrated by his understanding of the authentic Church as a free peoples' Church (freie Volkskirche), a Christian community characterized by such organic unity.[2] His use of Volk can be also seen in the word Volksseele, by which he meant that a people have a common soul or spirit that makes them a people. The Volksseele is the bearer of the cultural, religious-ethical tradition of a people. In this sense it is the deepest foundation of a peoples' common life.[3] The Church as Volkskirche assumed a primary importance in

---

[1] Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), pp. 185-186. This writer takes this to be the implication of Stoecker's understanding of the Old Testament where land ownership was set in the context of the recognition of God the Creator of the land.

[2] Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 189. It is interesting that Stoecker, generally quite Biblical in his orientation, refuses to take the only explicit form of economic and social organization in the New Testament, viz., the experiment in communism recorded in the book of Acts, as either a model or a norm.

[3] Because Stoecker was well aware of the prevailing idea of the Church as an assemblage of Christians rather than as a Christian assembly, he spent considerable time pointing out the problems and implications of the atomistic rather than social conception of the Church, see, e.g.: Stoecker, *Wandelt im Geist*, pp. 264ff., Stoecker, *O Land, höre des Herrn Wort*, pp. 10ff and Adolf Stoecker "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," (Jan., 1887), *Wach' auf*, pp. 143-185.

---

[1] For an expanded treatment of the influence of the Romantic tradition on Stoecker, especially as it relates to his ideas of Volksgeist, Volksseele, and Volkskirche, see Helmuth Schreiner, Macht und Dienst, pp. 47ff.

[2] The idea of a Volkskirche was one of Stoecker's favorite themes and can be found in many of his writings. For an early exposition of this theme, see, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Was wir wollen," (Jan. 6, 1877), Christlich-sozial, pp. 458-468. Wilhelm Meyer maintains that Stoecker's idea of Volk was similar to the concept of "race, blood, and soil" of the Romantic movement. Evangelische Kirche und deutscher Staat, p. 13. One must be careful not to overemphasize this point for Stoecker's use of Volk was clearly to counter the individualism he found in the Protestant Church. It conveys therefore both social and organic connotations.

[3] This theme occurs in many of Stoecker's writings. It is developed in "Die Volksseele," Kirchlich-sozialen Jahrbuch (1900), reprinted in Oertzen, Adolf Stoecker, I, 367-369.

Stoecker's theology.[1] It must be noted, however, that while his notion of people conveyed the essentially social nature of man, Stoecker also understood this concept in terms of a Germanic context. He believed that there was something in the German Volk that made them superior to other people.[2] This was to have political as well as theological import, particularly in his ardently nationalistic position and in his identification of Protestantism and Germany.

Solidarity and mutual concern were pivotal characteristics in Stoecker's understanding of an authentic community. Such a community had to be Christian, for it was only within the context of a Christian community that these characteristics could be realized and maintained. This position writ large is one of the factors in the court preacher's appeal

---

1. Borg points out that in the early 19th century, especially within the Prussian Union, the idea of Volkskirche was understood from a constitutional point of view to embrace the entire Protestant population. "Volkskirche, 'Christian State,' and the Weimar Republic," p. 187. Such an idea of an involuntary association that one joins by virtue of birth or parent's belief, is not exactly Stoecker's understanding of the Volkskirche. But then neither did he hold to a completely covenanted society of believers as in the sect-type tradition. Stoecker actually sought something in between the national Church and the sect. His understanding of a free socially oriented Volkskirche, based on confession and confirmation, was neither the national Church based on birth or the sect based on confession alone.

2. See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Ueber die Liebe zu König und Vaterland," (Feb. 15, 1878), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 29.

for a Christian nation, and his resultant fight against Jews and atheists of all stripes. It also points to the importance he gave to the Church as an authentic community and as the exemplary communal form with the power to transform and reform the rest of society. The early Church was the first community of service and charity in the history of humanity.[1] His call was for the existing Church to recover its authentic and pristine character.

Within the Christian community, there was a unique source of power, viz., the Word of God. However the existing Churches were not manifestations of the faithfulness and activity of God. Neither were they capable of dealing effectively with the immediate social problems of the day.[2] This was particularly evident in the lack of awareness, sensitivity, and response of the Church to the social problems both on the local and national levels. In dogmatic theology the Church was described as ecclesia militans but where, Stoecker queried, is the militancy in our Church?[3] Rather than total isolation from culture or accommodation to secularized culture, he called the Church to confront and speak to the world.

---

[1] 1. Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 190.

[2] 2. Stoecker's critical position regarding the character of the present Church abounds throughout his writings, especially in his collection of essays Wach' auf.

[3] 3. Adolf Stoecker, "Wie stehen wir?" (July, 1889), Wach' auf, p. 375.

Such a prophetic role could be carried out effectively only by a Church free from state control, a situation not in existence.[1] From his perspective, both the state Church and the Church state were invalid as falsifications of the divine orders.[2] It was primarily on the basis of the orders of God's creation that he sought to make his case for the freedom of the Church from state control. His understanding was clearly that of the Church in a dialectical relation to the world--both in the world, yet not of the world.[3] As a good Lutheran, he held that the Church was not simply the visible-historical community but was the invisible fellowship and body of Christ. His primary concern, however, was with the Church as the manifestation of God's activity in the world.[1]

---

[1] Wilhelm Meyer contends that Stoecker's concern for the independence of the Church led him to a concern for the public life of the German people. Evangelische Kirche und deutscher Staat in der Gegenwart, p. 15. Quite the reverse, however, seems to be the case. Stoecker's basic concern for the humanization process forced him to realize that if the Church was to play an active and prophetic role and influence in the public life, it would have to be independent from the control of the state.

[2] See, e.g.: Stoecker "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," Wach' auf, pp. 143-185.

[3] See, e.g.: Stoecker, Wandelt im Geist, pp. 264ff.

There was a definite connection between Stoecker's political and social activity and his understanding of the activity of God. The coming Kingdom promised by God was present, in capsule form, in the Christ-event and in the redeemed community. Accordingly, the Church must act to prepare the world for the complete fulfillment of the Kingdom of God. There was then the possibility of shaping this world by the ideal or vision of the Kingdom of God.[2]

As Stoecker viewed the situation, the Protestant Church in Germany existed in a condition of dependence and weakness.[3] Believing the call of the Church to be the representative of the Kingdom of God on earth, he found

---

1. Because too much emphasis had been placed upon the purity of the Church and upon saving of individual souls, the Church had become ineffective in its ministry to the world. The Church was the place where the Gospel was preached and where the sacraments were administered, but the Church was also the vanguard of God's saving activity in the world. To Stoecker this meant that the Church must become an effective social force in the world.

2. "It is essential that Christians carry the vision of the Kingdom of God into the world, working and struggling, believing and praying, witnessing and suffering, so that as much as possible will be glorified in the light of Christ. Christians, then, cannot just authorize but must be engaged in the practice of Christian morality in the world, in order to win others and to endeavor shaping this world by the ideal of the Kingdom of God." Adolf Stoecker, "Die christliche Sittlichkeit in ihrer Bedeutung für Volks- und Völkerleben," Reden und Aufsätze, pp. 230-231.

3. Adolf Stoecker, "Wo stehen wir?" (Jan. 2, 1875), Christlich-sozial, p. 418.

instead a dichotomy between this call and the existing Church. The great problem was that as a territorial or state Church (Landeskirche), the Christian community lacked control of their own affairs. Stoecker considered his fight against the state Church to be a struggle of the authentic Church against the established Church.[1] This struggle would determine the very existence of the Church as an authentic community of the faithful.[2] His concern was to recover the real significance and character of the Church as the body of Christ, and this he was convinced, could be done only by breaking the political strangle hold on the Church.[3] The prophetic function of the Christian community, the function so dear to his heart, was almost completely excluded within a state Church, due particularly to its ties and dependence upon the political establishment. The state Church simply had no chance of speaking out against the state.[1] The self-understanding of German Protestantism must spring from such prophetic, evangelical social-political thought and action.[2] Therefore, in order to fulfill its God-given task, the Church had to become free from state control. It was as important for the integrity of the state as it was for the existence of the Church that the Church have a status independent of the state; only thus can the Church carry out her task in the divine order, and only thus can the state remain a national state (Kulturstaat).[3] The proposals of Liberalism to free

---

[1] Stoecker's conception of the free peoples' Church independent from state control was not the same thing as the separation of Church and state. The idea of separation smacked too much of the two-realms division. He spoke rather of the independence from the state which did not then preclude mutual relations between the Church and the state. His fight for the freedom of the Church was not so much freedom from the state as it was for the freedom of the Church's influence in society. Freedom in this case meant freedom from outside influences and authorities, and the most pressing in Stoecker's time was that of the state.

[2] Walter, in a generally perceptive analysis of Stoecker's understanding of the Church, maintains that for the court preacher the problem of Church dogma and the form of the Church was irrelevant to public life. Die freie Volkskirche als Ziel Adolf Stöckers, p. 41. But quite the contrary is the case, for Stoecker considered Church dogma and particularly Church form to be some of the factors producing the problems in public life and must therefore be altered to come to terms with the public life of the German people.

[3] Wilhelm Meyer, in an important analysis of Stoecker's conception of the nature and mission of the Church, maintains that in actual fact the court preacher sought a Reichskirche. He claims that the Reichskirche is the logical conclusion of

---

of Stoecker's attempt to bring the Protestant Church and the German state together as a Christian state. See, e.g.: Evangelische Kirche und deutscher Staat in der Gegenwart, pp. 31-33. Such a conclusion, however, misses the distinction Stoecker sought to maintain between the free peoples' Church and the state, even a Christian state. The institutionalization of the Church as Reichskirche was the very idea of Church Stoecker sought to combat. The idea of the Christian state was more of a descriptive term for Stoecker, e.g., a nation of Christians, ruled by Christians, founded upon Christian principles, and not something that was to be, or even could be institutionalized as a Reichskirche.

[1] Stoecker, "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," Wach' auf, p. 166.

[2] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Die Leitung der Kirche. Ein Weckruf" (Siegen: Verlag der Westdeutschen Verlagsanstalt, 1877), p. 26.

[3] Stoecker, "Wo stehen wir?" Christlich-sozial, p. 424.

the state from the Church and priestly influence, were not acceptable because they sought such a separation on the basis of a relegation of the Church to the other-worldly sphere, assuming that Christianity was only concerned legitimately with the other-world.[1] Such a solution would most certainly obviate Stoecker's concern for the social and prophetic mission of the Church. "If only the Church had freedom to live her unique existence within the divine orders, a new history of Protestantism would begin."[2]

The court preacher was quite aware of the fact that the Church had become unpopular, even anathema to the working classes. Historically speaking, it was clear to him that the Church had been primarily concerned with the established classes of society, supporting and preserving their interests. His call was for a shift in emphasis, both in the Church and society at large, to the working classes and to their needs and problems.[3] The social struggle, then, must be brought into the Church. But this would be possible only if the Church could be emancipated from her state Church shackles.[1] Only a free Church involved in the lives of people would redeem the Christian Church itself and again make it a vital force in the lives of Germans and in the German nation. The ecclesiastical organizational structure, as well as the Church's theological expression, neglected the common people. It was only as a free peoples' Church (freie Volkskirche), according to Stoecker, that the Church had any reason for existence or reason to claim authenticity as the earthly manifestation of the body of Christ.[2]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Wo stehen wir?" Christlich-sozial, p. 424.

[2] Ibid., p. 427.

[3] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 161.

Stoecker's analysis of the situation and status of the Church in his day can be summarized in his phrase: "We are sick, and our sickness lies in the social position of our Church."[3] A major cause of this sickness was diagnosed by Stoecker to be the nature of the state Church, in which he saw temporal authority usurping the authority of the Christian community.[4] Clearly such a situation stood in the way of a renewal of the religious-ethical character of the German people. Unless the Church, as a community of the faithful, is free from state control, it cannot be a community of the truth, for "without freedom there is no truth."[1] The Church, as guardian of divine truth, must present the truth of God to the world so that mankind might have the possibility of authentic life.[2] And this was possible only as a free peoples' Church.

---

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 206.

[2] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Wo stehen wir?" Christlich-sozial, p. 428.

[3] Adolf Stoecker, "Was nun?" (Jan. 1, 1876), Christlich-sozial, pp. 433-434.

[4] Stoecker, "Was nun?" Christlich-sozial, pp. 433-434 and Stoecker, "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," Wach' auf, p. 161.

The authentic Church was characterized by Stoecker as a gathering of the faithful around the Word of God and the holy sacraments, a community of worship, and around the work of mission as a community of love and service. The Church, then, was to be a community of fellowship, mutual concern, and service, and this necessarily assumed freedom from outside control.[3] The Church's work in social reform was a necessary aspect of the inner reform and reconstitution of the Church.[1] The Church can win back the common man only if her concern again becomes the public life.[2] Involvement in the social problem was neither evil nor unchristian, as many critics maintained, but the natural, and indeed necessary, outgrowth of Christian faith.[3] He was aware that the Christian community could not create a new world but it most certainly could improve the conditions of this one.[4] The Church must be both a servant and a power, playing an active as well as passive role in society.[5] But this will be no easy task, for "our Church is weak in her impact on the public spirit."[1]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Was wir wollen," Christlich-sozial, p. 464.

[2] Stoecker, "Ist die Bibel Wahrheit?" Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 64.

[3] Stoecker, "Was wir wollen," Christlich-sozial, pp. 467-468. His understanding of the Church as fellowship and community was derived from the Reformation call for the priesthood of all believers. Clearly this meant to Stoecker a de-emphasis on the hierarchical organization of the institutional Church, in an attempt to lessen autocratic authority in the organization. He advocated the democratic involvement of all members of the community as was implicit in the priesthood of all believers. He favored all types of participation of the laity in the life and work of the Church, except lay-preaching, this he discouraged. Schreiner, Macht und Dienst, p. 72, interprets Stoecker's understanding of the priesthood of all believers in terms of "Demo-Diakonia."

---

[1] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Eine ernste Stunde deutscher Geschichte," (July 6, 1878), *Christlich-sozial*, p. 497.

[2] Adolf Stoecker, "Ein schweres Jahr," (Jan. 4, 1879), *Christlich-sozial*, p. 507.

[3] He simply would not accept the objections to the social and political involvement of the Church as valid, for according to the court preacher, the Church was called to such work and involvement. See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Wie stehen wir?" *Wach' auf*, p. 374.

[4] "The social question is not evil, but a good question. What is asked is the best form of human community in order to bring the greatest number of men into a good living situation. One cannot create a world without misfortune; the world is no longer Eden. One cannot create human hearts without sin, even Socialism cannot do this. But one can, if he only wants to, have a great deal more good will and peace among men on earth, if only more people would act dutifully and have love for their neighbors." Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 162.

[5] Adolf Stoecker "Pflüget ein Neues!" (July 7, 1888), *Wach' auf*, p. 311. Stoecker's understanding of the power of the Church pointed particularly to the inner authority of the

Stoecker acknowledged that during the time of the Reformation, it was probably necessary for the creation of state Churches in order to save Protestantism from the activities of the Catholics. The problem was, however, that this expedient and temporary measure had become absolutized so that the Church was used for political support and benefit.[2] He compared the potentially dangerous situation in the German state Church to the Caesaropapism of the Byzantine empire, a situation in which the Church was totally subservient to the state.[3] Stoecker's ambivalent position regarding the *Kulturkampf* becomes instructive at this point for it represents a conflict of interests. Because of his close identification of Germany with the Reformation, he was sympathetic with the attempt to curtail Catholic influence in Germany. But because he feared such state action might become a precedent, particularly in the state's dealings

---

Church that would permit the Church to work and influence society without fear or control from outside authority. Only a free Church, according to Stoecker, free from subservience to another authority or power, has the freedom to serve.

[1] Stoecker, "Ein schweres Jahr," *Christlich-sozial*, p. 508.

[2] See, e.g.: Stoecker, *Wach' auf*, p. x. Stoecker held that the previous indifference of the Church to its outer form, particularly its relation to the state, had been one of the most damaging of the errors of Protestantism. Adolf Stoecker, "Einkehr," (Jan., 1889), *Wach' auf*, p. 332.

[3] Stoecker, "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," *Wach' auf*, p. 161.

with the Protestant Church, he spoke out against the idea of state intervention in religious matters.[1] He thought it odd that the Jews, and even the Roman Catholics under the Kulturkampf, were much freer from state control of Church affairs than were the Protestants. It was ironic and most certainly tragic that the Protestant Church, "the only spiritual force in Germany that can live and survive in freedom," is the only one not free.[2] Just as the Reformation and the Pietist movement had been earlier significant Church revivals, Stoecker was convinced that the present stirrings and struggle over the issues of freedom and the social problem was the beginning of a third major revival and rediscovery in the nation and the Church.[3] He asserted that the time when the Church will be free from state control, thereby having the possibility to become a truly confessing community, is completely in the hands of God.[4] Theoretically all he claims he can do is to pray, practically, however,

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," Wach' auf, p. 181.

[2] Stoecker, "Vorwart," Wach' auf, p. xii. He maintained that it would undercut the Biblical understanding of God's providence, if the Reformation that had begun in Germany was terminated. He, therefore, approached his work to free the Church from state control with the greatest of confidence.

[3] Stoecker, "Der religiöse Geist in Volk und Heer während des französischen Krieges," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 137.

[4] Stoecker, Wach' auf, p. xvi.

Stoecker actively and aggressively worked for that day.

A concomitant question for Stoecker was that of the defining basis or framework for the community of faith. He thought in terms of the necessity of an objective criterion, in addition to the Scriptures, as a common definitional point for all members. After all without such a criterion, there was little difference with the Catholic Church. For Stoecker, the Augsburg Confession was to serve such an objective function in the free peoples' Church. The Confession was not so much a dogmatic delimitation as it was a confessional framework within which the authentic community could function. The Confession was to be the constitutive act of the Church. A free peoples' Church in Germany was conceivable only in conjunction with the Augsburg Confession.[1] In the theological debate between conservative confessionalists and socially-minded liberals on the issue of the nature and mission of the Church, Stoecker sided with the right on the necessity of a confessional base for the Church and with the left on the necessity of involvement in the socio-political realm.[2] Rather than excessive debate on this issue, Stoecker called the Church "to go forward!"[1]

---

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Rechts oder links?" (July 3, 1875), Christlich-sozial, p. 430.

[2] Ibid., pp. 430-431. Stoecker recognized that in the previous generation, the conservative or confessional theologians erred in their dogmatization of the Confessions. Adolf Stoecker, "Not und Hilfe," (July, 1891), Wach' auf, p. 509.

In Stoecker's understanding of the situation, there was an intimate relationship between the religious-ethical spirit of the people and the general social condition. The great task of the Church was to inject into the world the insights and dynamic force of the Christian faith and thereby bring about a religious-ethical renewal of the German people.[2] Such a renewal was a necessary aspect in resolving the social problem. While the Church itself could not become directly involved in the politics, for Stoecker feared Church control of the state as much as state control of the Church, the mission of Protestantism was to cause and sustain a renewal of the German people. This would be a concomitant factor in national and social reform.[3] Dependent upon the success of this mission was the continuing significance of the Reformation in Germany. It was necessary, therefore, that the Church help provide the appropriate communal context for the continuation of the humanization of man.[4] He saw no possibility

---

1. Stoecker, "Rechts oder links?" Christlich-sozial, pp. 433-434.

2. See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Lage unserer Kirche," p. 20.

3. Stoecker, "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," Wach' auf, p. 150.

4. See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," Wach' auf, pp. 151-153.

of meaningful social reform without a reformation of the German spirit and a renewal of the German people, and the burden of this task fell upon the shoulders of the Church.[1] The active involvement of the Church in the social problem could not remain only on the personal level, but the Church must become a dynamic social force. It had a unique role to play in the divine order, and that role was to become an authentic community and thereby a creative impetus in the humanization process.[2]

In order to effectively challenge the state control of the Church, Stoecker described what he considered to be the appropriate relationship between the Church and state. Underlying his understanding of this relationship was the traditional Lutheran position of the divine orders of creation.[3] In the created order both the state and the Church have ordained functions and purposes, the former to provide order and stability for a godless society, the latter for worship, witness, and service. He understood the state and the Church to be institutionally and legally separate, with different authority.[1] This was not an effort to fragment reality but to recognize the differing functions of the state and the Church.[2] He did not believe that the Church as an institution should play the game of politics as a political party. Its role in the socio-political arena was a more indirect one, viz., to cause a renewal and reformation of the religious-ethical spirit of society. It had to be so in order to maintain the freedom and integrity of our Church relative to the state and society. As agent of reconciliation and humanization, the Church could not be tied to a particular class interest or political party. But Christians as individuals and as groups should and must be actively involved in the economic, social, and political spheres of life. Here Stoecker attempted to maintain the fine distinction that institutionally religion and politics cannot be mixed and still maintain their own freedom and independent integrity, and yet on the human level, in terms of the motivations of decisions and actions, these two are inevitably mixed.[1] This can probably be best illustrated in Stoecker's own activity. As a Christian, or because he was a Christian, he was involved in socio-political arena as the founder and prime mover of a political party and as a member of the Reichstag, but he did not claim to speak for the Church or for the ecclesiastical institution.[2] He took a similar position relative to the Church and the various socio-economic problems. The Church must transcend partisan issues. Even though there was no Biblical injunction or formula for the correct form of economic organization the Church had an obligation to speak out on such issues as economic injustices and social oppression.[3]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," Wach' auf, p. 155.

[2] Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 212. "We call out to our people, wake up, my Germans, the time for sleeping is past. So in times past Martin Luther awakened his people. So again a Protestant consciousness must be sounded out . . . . Our people are not lost to the gospel, we must only seek them out." Stoecker, "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," Wach' auf, p. 183.

[3] See, for example, the Augsburg Confession on the Church and civil government. Creeds of the Churches, pp. 72-73.

---

[1] He did not mean to compartmentalize reality, eliminating the Church from any role in social, economic, and political spheres. Such had been an oft misinterpretation within the Christian tradition that understood divine orders to be mutually exclusive. This resulted in an attitude of indifference regarding the world and an individualistic understanding of existence in the world. Stoecker, "Die Kirche und das öffentliche Leben," Wach' auf, pp. 194-195.

[2] Stoecker, "Die Kirche und das öffentliche Leben," Wach' auf, p. 194.

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Kirche und das öffentliche Leben," Wach' auf, pp. 197-199.

[2] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf für die christlich-soziale Arbeiterpartei," (Jan. 18, 1878), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 12. Brandenburg, as well as others, maintain that Stoecker was first and foremost a Churchman. Hans Brandenburg, Adolf Stoecker, ein Kämpfer um Volk und Kirche, p. 78. Such a position can only be maintained if it is meant that his concern was with and for the Church, for he most certainly was not a Churchman in the sense of an ecclesiastic.

[3] "The Church cannot take a position on these issues . . . saying that one economic system is better than another . . . . We must promote a spiritual renewal so that there is an affectionate participation in the loving, spiritual, and religious-ethical well-being of the workers and all people." Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 19.

Here again Stoecker tried to make a distinction between the motivation and action of Christians and the role of the institutional Church. The Church was to provide the necessary context within which the Christian could respond to social issues and problems.

Since the state and Church has a common cause, viz., the working toward the increased humanization of man and society, there is no necessary conflict between them. There was, then, a functional relationship of the Church and the state within the divine orders. But there remained an essential difference: the state is part of the natural order while the Church is in the order of grace. He understood the role of the Church to create an attitude, spirit, and climate of concern that would be manifest in the concrete action of the state. Thus in Stoecker's understanding the Church and state are and must be complementary, each fulfilling its own function and purpose in the divine order.

Stoecker's Critique and Analysis of the Structure, Institutions, and Foundations of Society

Not only did Stoecker's interpretation of Christianity in political and social terms bring him into a confrontation with the economic, social, and political establishment, but so did his activities as court preacher, member of the

Reichstag, and leader of the Christian-Socialist Party. This was not just a theological or theoretical confrontation but a very practical one deriving from his personal involvement in the established structures and thought forms present in his life time. As he examined these structures and thought forms and the resultant social problems, Stoecker concluded that the overwhelming consequence was one of de-humanization. This observation summarizes his basic critique of society.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the German Church was faced with a number of challenges. The most menacing challenge, in his opinion, was the social problem. It was in this period of industrialization that such problems as urbanization, working-class ghettos, wages, working hours, and the concentration of wealth, came to the fore to plague not only the Church but established society as well.[1] Industrialization had not only radically altered traditional social and economic patterns of life but it had the effect of undercutting the traditional religious and ideological foundations of life. The rise of such ideologies as liberalism, secularism, and materialism during the nineteenth century was viewed by Stoecker as indicative of the prevalent indifference and hostility to Christianity and its traditional charity approach to social problems.

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 183-185.

According to his analysis "the most problematic aspect of the social problem is the alienation of our people from the religious perspective."[1] After 1848, he had seen another ideological option make its appearance in Germany, offering not only a new framework of thought and action but revolutionary solutions to the social problem. The Church was faced not only with the general challenge of the social problem but by the specific challenge of aggressive proponents of Socialism. Analysis and criticism of the social, economic, and political context, from a Christian perspective, was the first step in meeting such challenges. To this task Stoecker devoted considerable amount of his writing.

The court preacher was quite realistic in his understanding of the social problem. He recognized that the struggle for possessions and the conflict between classes were acute problems.[2] It seemed rather obvious that in a descriptive sense, class differences were at the center of the social problem.[3] He did not consider the social problem

---

1. Stoecker, "Christlich-konservative Ziele für die Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 249.

2. See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 184 or Stoecker, "Die Bedeutung der christlichen Weltanschauung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 270. There seems to be an implicit recognition that Socialist analysis of class conflict and the struggle for possessions are often accurate, at least in a descriptive sense.

3. Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 210.

to be anything novel, even though its present form most certainly was. Industrialization complicated and intensified the social problem.[1] It seemed that with the increasing complexity of social and economic organization went the concomitant complexity of the social problem, in all sectors of national life. In its simplest form the social problem has always been the cleavage between the rich and the poor, the established and the disestablished, resulting in the failure of the poor to gain an adequate share of the riches to sustain a secure livelihood and existence, and the failure of society to provide for the needs of the impoverished, sick, aged, and invalids.[2] Even though before God all men are equal this was obviously not true here on earth. Men are inevitably unequal in almost every aspect of life.[3] It was, however, a misunderstanding to think that such inequality, for example that between a rich man and a poor man, has been divinely ordained in some predetermined scheme of existence.[4] It was Stoecker's goal to level the great inequalities in society and thereby achieve social harmony and humanization within a free and ordered society.[1]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 182.

[2] Ibid., p. 184.

[3] Ibid., p. 191.

[4] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Arm und Reich," (Mar. 18, 1891) (Basel: A. Geering, 1891), p. 12.

The social problem, at least as Stoecker understood it, was a comprehensive and complex configuration of factors that had the resulting consequence of de-humanizing man and his environment. For example, the gap between the haves and have-nots was continuing to widen. Such a situation could not be allowed to continue, for not only was it dehumanizing but it was unacceptable in the sight of God.[2] Fundamentally, Stoecker saw the social problem as the result of the failure of the present forms of social and economic organization to create an authentic human community.[3] The Achilles heel of the present form of society, according to

---

[1] Stoecker's aim to level the social and economic extremes in society was based upon a realization that complete leveling, as advocated by the Socialists, was unrealistic and impossible. See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 16.

[2] "As we look around we are confronted by the dreadful situation of a cleavage between the rich and the poor becoming wider and wider, this simply cannot be allowed to continue, this situation has become so acute as to become alarming. This cannot be allowed to happen to mankind, it has not been caused by God." He goes on to say that if this situation had been determined by God nothing could alter it, but this is not the case with the social problem, for social reform is possible. Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 13.

[3] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 183 or Adolf Stoecker, "Die sozialen und kirchlichen Notstände in grossen Städten," (April 12, 1888) (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1888), p. 12.

Stoecker, was the labor or worker problem (Arbeiterfrage).[1] He believed that this problem would be a catalytic agent for social change.

Adolf Stoecker, a political conservative, assumed that a strongly centralized state was necessary to maintain social order and stability.[2] Such a state also meant the possibility of state-help in resolving the social problem.[3] It was Stoecker's dream to see Germany become a Christian state.[4] He realized, however, that this could come only as a result of a renewal of the German people and the German spirit, not by the legislation of morality and personal behavior.[5]

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Kirche und das öffentliche Leben," Wach' auf, p. 207 or Stoecker, "Zur Handwerkerfrage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 240.

[2] The oath, a cohesive force in public life, was a significant symbol of the divinely ordained function of the state. It provided stability and reliability in public life. Adolf Stoecker, "Der Eid," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 89-90.

[3] State-help, an important aspect of Stoecker's 1878 program, meant state regulation of capitalism, state protection of the workers, state insurance guarantees, and state enforcement of social reforms. See, e.g.: Stoecker, Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 20-21.

[4] Even though his vision of a Christian state must be distinguished from the idea of a Church state, Stoecker closely identified Christianity (Reformation Protestantism) with the German nation and people.

[5] The high point in German history approaching the Christian state ideal came with the 1881 social message of Emperor Wilhelm I. Here according to Stoecker, the same

As long as the nation was not Christian, the best Stoecker hoped for was a strong state, with Christian rulers, to keep order, enforce peace and social harmony, and to provide state-help in dealing with the social problem. A strong state was necessary to preserve the balance between freedom and order. Freedom was only possible within limits of conformity, responsibility, and order.[1] He was well aware that ineffective and socially insensitive governments bred revolutions.[2] A socially conscious monarchy, therefore, was the most expedient form of government for Germany. He feared the possible consequences of republican and democratic forms of government.[3] He considered the advantage of monarchy, in comparison to other forms of government, to be its centralized authority, its stability and durability, and its national rather than partisan representation.[4] As a convinced

---

ruler who had built a nation, manifested a profound understanding of the social problem and of the needs of his people. Stoecker, "Die Kaiserliche Botschaft," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 113. In this understanding, Stoecker saw the possibility of peaceful, social reform. Anything that obstructed this possibility came under heavy attack.

1. Stoecker, "Der Kampf des Lichtes gegen die Finsternis," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 99-100.

2. Adolf Stoecker, "Reichstagsreden," (Mar. 30, 1886), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 326.

3. See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Sozialdemokratie und Sozialmonarchie," (1891), Reden und Aufsätze, p. 213.

4. His political ideal, however, was the Christian state, with a Christian emperor ruling a Christian people. Stoecker, "Sozialdemokratie und Sozialmonarchie," Reden und Aufsätze, p. 214.

monarchist, he saw the Emperor as the personification of the Fatherland and of German people.[1] In spite of his intense patriotism and militant nationalism, he preserved the distinction between the nation and God, patriotism and Christianity.[2]

Stoecker's political position and analysis of German history led him to believe that just as Germany had been the home of the sixteenth century Reformation so it had a special destiny in the present age in dealing with the social problem and the challenge of the Socialists. There was something superior about the German people and the German *Geist* that made such a destiny inevitable. The uniqueness of the German people was due in part to the tradition of German Christianity since the Reformation.[3] Because of the quality and spirit of the German people, Stoecker had great hopes for the possibility of national and social adjustment necessary to deal with the social problem. The German people alone, had the religious-ethical foundation in their tradition that inspired both love of God and love of country.[1]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Ueber die Liebe zu König und Vaterland," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), pp. 26-27.

[2] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Der Kampf des Lichtes gegen die Finsternis," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 98 or Stoecker, "Der religiöse Geist in Volk und Heer," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 141.

[3] For examples of this common theme in Stoecker, see: Stoecker, "Ueber die Liebe zu König und Vaterland," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 29 or Stoecker, "Der religiöse Geist in Volk und Heer," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 152.

One of the fundamental factors causing the dehumanization of man in present society was the system and spirit of laissez-faire capitalism. According to Stoecker, unrestricted capitalism was eroding his beloved Germany and her people.[2] Capitalism not only played upon the evil side of human nature and social structure, e.g., greed, self-interest, individualism, and the desire for power, but it bred these values. The capitalistic system exaggerated the gap between the rich and poor, the rich becoming increasingly richer, and the poor poorer. Unlimited competition, the bedrock of capitalism, was simply not capable of producing social harmony. It destroyed the religious-ethical framework needed to make an economic organization run humanely, rewarding such values and attitudes as greed, materialism, and egoism.[3] Because of its individualistic orientation, capitalism disrupted and destroyed authentic community. Stoecker's critique of unrestricted capitalism was not one of economic theory. He recognized that if the accumulation of national wealth was the only criterion, it was a viable form of economic organization. Rather his denunciation focused on the dehumanizing consequences of this form of economic organization. When the human element was taken into consideration, capitalism was found wanting.[1] Founded upon and perpetuated by the spirit of mammonism, egoism, and an individualistic attitude toward society and the social problem, laissez-faire capitalism produced a lack of concern, even hostility, for the disestablished groups of society. Stoecker saw an increasingly smaller sector of society, characterized by a concern for personal profit and the preservation of the status quo, assuming the power to determine the destiny of Germany.

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Ueber die Liebe zu König und Vaterland," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 30.

[2] Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 199.

[3] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 175.

Stoecker identified the spirit of laissez-faire capitalism with Liberalism, which was leading the country to economic and social ruin.[2] Liberalism recognized the value of freedom, but theirs was a false understanding of freedom. Freedom must exist within a context of responsibility, social concern, and order. It must be based on a recognition of the rights and dignity of every man. But the freedom advocated by Liberalism was without order and responsibility, and most certainly without an understanding of the rights of men.[1] Since men were not equal, freedom without order inevitably led to the strong taking advantage of the weak, resulting in suppression and oppression. Such a situation was evident in the capitalist economic system.[2] Liberalism's panacea of freedom was the great falsehood of the era. Man could not be free without social order or without the context provided by Christianity.[3] Freedom was a human right, determined neither by blood as in aristocratic society nor by financial assets as in capitalist society.[4]

---

[1] This is a theme found in all Stoecker's social and economic criticism, see, e.g.: Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), and Stoecker, "Arm und Reich."

[2] "Liberalism believes . . . that the free play of [economic] power will produce social harmony. That is unreasonable and dishonest. Manchesterism [i.e., capitalism] creates economic conflict and social strife. The proletarians are in a hopeless position in a capitalist system, this group becoming always larger in the struggle for existence . . . . With religious ideals desolated by the ethics of this world, money and its power and rights remains the strongest impulse of personal activity and the most important factor in world development." Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 175.

---

1. Stoecker, "Des Handwerks Not und Hülfe," (March 29, 1878), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 31-32.

2. Stoecker, "Zur Handwerkerfrage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 234.

3. See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Christlich-konservative Ziele," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 249.

4. Unredeemed human nature being what it was, Stoecker understood the only realistic approach to be state regulation of capitalism and immediate state-help measures to alleviate the most desperate aspects of the social problem. It was not that he considered competitive systems to be inherently evil, but rather that he was realistic enough to see that within a laissez-faire system, human nature inevitably will take advantage of unlimited freedom for its own benefit. The competitive system, particularly when unrestricted, tended to bring out the brutishness and ruthlessness in man. The result was an increasing accumulation of wealth and power by the few and an increasing de-humanization of the masses of society. This he saw happening in Germany.

One of the most pressing problems of present society was the condition and situation of the urban workers.[1] The worker was caught in the capitalist system in such a way as to make him little more than an economic commodity, almost totally dependent upon the whims of his employer for his existence.[2] Dependent upon the cycle of labor supply and demand, he had almost no security or assurance of livelihood.[3] The present situation was oppressive enough to prevent the development of a worker's capacity and potential as a human being.[4] Labor lacked human dignity and freedom, in part due to its relation to capital, but also due to its relation to the machine. The worker was often a servant to the machine. This situation was exaggerated by capital's concern for the condition of the machine rather than for the condition of the workers.[1] The cycles of boom and depression in the economy made unemployment a constant threat and reality for the urban workers. The fundamental problem for the working man was that of security. He lives his life in "a bitter struggle for a secure existence."[2] Such conditions were de-humanizing and degrading, violating the dignity and rights of the worker as a human being. He described the conditions in which working class families existed: unfit dwelling places, unsafe working conditions, seven day work week for very low wages, twelve hour work day, and child labor.[3] Such descriptions were hardly unique to Stoecker; they were recounted by other persons sensitive to the plight of the working man.[4]

---

[1] In Arnold Poepke's interpretation of Stoecker, the *Arbeiterfrage* is seen to be at the center of Stoecker's understanding and consideration of the social problem. *Der christliche Sozialismus Adolf Stoeckers*, p. 42. In one sense this is an accurate judgment but somewhat misleading for Stoecker never considered either the worker problem or the social problem apart from the religious-ethical problem.

[2] "Work is a commodity: this is the basic principle that lies at the heart of the error and disorder of the present economic situation . . . . Work is not a commodity like a bag of coffee or a measure of sugar. Labor is the strength of work and this is man himself, not something outside of man, but the inner activity of man, made clear by the concern for wives and children, made holy by a noble family life, and inspired by the atmosphere of religion. Labor is not a commodity, but the activity of men created in the likeness of God." Stoecker, "Zur Handwerkerfrage," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 235.

[3] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Der Hass der Sozialdemokratie," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 7.

[4] Adolf Stoecker, "Die persönliche Aufgabe in der sozialen Frage," (April 5, 1878), *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 36.

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die persönliche Aufgabe," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 36.

[2] Stoecker, "Sozialdemokratisch, Sozialistisch und Christlich-sozial," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 217.

[3] For example see: Stoecker "Sozialdemokratisch, Sozialistisch und Christlich-sozial," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 217.

[4] The Socialists were one of the most vocal groups describing these conditions. It is interesting to note that after recounting Marx's description of the conditions of the workers in England, Stoecker responds, "Thank God, we in Germany have never had such conditions." "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 167. Stoecker recognized the deplorable conditions of the urban

The social problem was not limited to the proletarian class but encompassed all the disestablished groups in society. The agrarian workers and the artisans were also caught in the squeeze of the socio-economic system, in need of immediate and long-term help.[1] It is true, however, that the industrial workers received the most attention in Stoecker's writings, due in part to the fact that he spent most of his adult life in industrial areas.

The implications of this situation were obvious.[2] Families were split up, each member being forced to work in order to survive. Disease and ill-health ran rampant in tenements. Invalids, the industrial injured, the aged, and widows were without social security. Children, forced to work full days in stifling conditions, were often deformed

---

workers, but he considered the primary problem to be the insecurity of the existence of the worker. Whether he was completely accurate in his descriptions--and there seems to be ample evidence that he was quite realistic--does not affect the fact that they describe his image or idea of these conditions which he attributed to laissez-faire capitalism. It could be little more than an image based upon sympathetic analysis, for he never lived in an industrial ghetto. He sought to do everything possible to understand what it must have been like to exist in such conditions. What was clear to him was that such conditions could not be left unchallenged and unreformed.

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Des Handwerks Not und Hülfe," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 31-34 and Stoecker, "Zur Handwerkerfrage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 232-246.

[2] Stoecker's "Reichstagsreden" are particularly helpful at this point, for here he deals in a public manner with such issues as factory conditions, work-day, wages, Sunday-labor, child labor, and the labor of mothers. "Reichstagsreden," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 293-344.

and injured, as well as being prevented from getting an education. Education became a case in point for Stoecker. Children working a full day could not obtain an education. The best they could hope for was trade instruction.[1] This had the effect of perpetuating the closed class system. A child needed both a progressive education and a Christian education to be a useful and productive citizen. Without obtaining such an education, the consequence often was that the economic servitude of the parents was perpetuated in their children because there was almost no way a working class child could break out of this cycle.[2]

Here then was the tragedy, for the perpetual cycle of economic servitude had to be broken before liberation and humanization was possible. Such a break could come only as a matter of religious-ethical renewal and the immediate intervention and regulation by the state. The transformation that Stoecker worked for was not a political and social one in a Marxian sense, but was a spiritual and human one. He anticipated a transformation of social and economic institutions and structures as an outcome of human renewal but this was something that could not be superimposed by political and social revolution. Rather it would follow naturally from a religious-ethical renewal of man and society. It must be noted that Stoecker was realistic enough to talk in terms of the necessity of immediate reforms to alleviate the deplorable conditions of the disestablished classes. He was well aware that such reforms could not be a permanent solution. It was only in conjunction with genuine religious-ethical renewal of the nation that there was the possibility of meaningful reforms. Such a renewal was seen not so much as a single event as a reforming attitude or spirit with the purpose of the continual humanization of man and his environment.

---

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Ueber die Angriffe auf das Programm der christlich sozialen Arbeiterpartei," (Feb. 1, 1878), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 25. Because the child of a working class family often had to work in order to help provide a livelihood for his family, he was denied the possibility of getting an education. Then because he lacked an education, he was often forced to remain a factory worker for the remainder of his life.

[2] The first major legislation in Germany regulating child labor was passed in March, 1903. Pinson, Modern Germany, p. 246.

The power and influence of the existing press was also examined in Stoecker's analysis of society. He concluded that many of the presses were "evil and godless."[1] He spent considerable ink denouncing the condition of much of the popular press and its influence on the public life. The potential power of the press was as an instigator of reform and renewal in Germany as during the Reformation.[2] But the actual influence of much of the press represented a danger and threat to the security and stability of society. His attack was focused on the "Jewish press" and that of the Social-Democrats.[1] To guard against the influence of bad presses, Stoecker advocated the suppression of the dangerous organs. Freedom of the press, even though desired, had to be suppressed when it was abused, in order to protect society, the peace of the nation, the Church and the crown.[2] He understood the freedom of the press in terms of the positive function of public service and not as a vehicle for profits and threats.[3] The press should remain in harmony with the collective life of the nation. Not that it should not be critical, but that its raison d'être was service to the citizenery.[4] Again Stoecker was arguing from the premise that authentic freedom could only exist within order and a sense of responsibility.

---

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Die schlechte Presse," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 39.

[2] Ibid.

Another aspect of Stoecker's social analysis dealt with the so-called Jewish question (Judenfrage).[5] It must be noted from the outset that Stoecker was not a radical anti-Semite or racist.[1] He claimed to have begun his struggle against the Jews "without hate, without offense, and without abuse."[2] But due to the increasing Jewish influence in public life, he felt compelled to fight against them.[3] His anti-

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die schlechte Presse," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 39-48.

[2] Stoecker, "Die schlechte Presse," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 40.

[3] Ibid., p. 42.

[4] Ibid., p. 43.

[5] There are a number of early attacks on Stoecker's anti-Semitic position worthy of mention. Paulus Cassel, a fellow minister in Berlin, took Stoecker to task for confusing

---

Christianity and the "teutonic furor of anti-Semitism." Rather than "Jew-baiting," Cassel challenged Stoecker to attempt a real mission to the Jews. Paulus Cassel, *Die Antisemiten und die evangelische Kirche*. *Sendschreiben an einen evangelischen Geistlichen* (Berlin: J. A. Wohlgemuths Verlagsbuchhandlung, Max Herbig, 1881). Moses Oppenheimer, a proletarian member of the German Socialist Workers' Party, criticized Stoecker's position as damaging to the workers' cause, in "Offener Brief an Herrn Adolph Stoecker Hofprediger und Mitglied des Oberkirchenrathes in Berlin" (2. Auflage; Mannheim: Selbstverlags des Verfassers, 1879) and "Semiten und Arier. Zweiter Brief an Herrn Adolph Stoecker Hofprediger und Mitglied des Oberkirchenrathes in Berlin" (2. Auflage; Mannheim: Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1880). From within Judaism itself came such replies as that of Rabbi Gottlieb Kleins, "Zur 'Judenfrage.' Unsere Anforderungen an des Christenthum des Herrn Stocker" (Zürich: J. Schabelitz, 1880), who saw his people again becoming the suffering people. One of the more important responses from within Protestantism was that of M. Baumgartens, "Stöckers gefälschtes Christenthum" (Berlin: S. Gerstmann, 1881). His anti-Semitism was no worse the other of his contemporaries, but then it was no better either. He was simply unable to rise above this attitude. For an expanded treatment of anti-Semitism during this time consult: Pulzer: *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism*.

[1] Arnold Poepke correctly points out that for Stoecker the race issue was not a determining factor in his anti-Semitic position. *Der christliche Sozialismus Adolf Stoeckers*, p. 39.

[2] Adolf Stoecker, "Prinzipien, Thatsachen und Ziele in der Judenfrage," (May 27, 1881), *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 418.

[3] Paul Göhre incorrectly considered anti-Semitism to be the key in Stoecker's understanding of the social-economic problems of his day. *Die evangelisch-soziale Bewegung*, p. 70. Anti-Semitism was most certainly a factor, but the key would have to be the worker problem in conjunction with the religious-ethical problem.

Semitism was, on one level, that of political expediency for as a politician he knew he could play on the latent anti-Semitism among the workers and artisans to gain and hold office.[1] Even more important than political expediency was the fact that he believed that the Jews threatened the possibility of a religious-ethical renewal in Germany. In a real sense, the Jew became the scapegoat for much of the social problem. The Jew simply did not fit into the German way of life.[2] They "are and remain a people within a people, a state within a state, a foreign race."[3] He considered the Jews as the epitomy of the spirit of mammonism and the self-interested drive for riches, identifying them with the established oppressive classes.[4] Stoecker worked from an image of Jews as Shylock figures.[5] In Stoecker's interpretation, Judaism was eroding western civilization--its culture, its religion, and its thought-forms.[1] Germany and Christianity were so inextricably bound together, that anti-Semitism was a natural position for this Christian nationalist.[2] A case in point is that the Jews were seen as one of the primary obstacles to the religious-ethical reformation of Germany.[3] The Jewish question was therefore a social and ethical one. This can be illustrated by his distinction between Judaism and "modern Judaism," the latter denoting the secularized Jew and his influence in banks, the stock market, and the press.[4] The fact that a number of the leaders of the Liberal Party, as well as the Social-Democratic Party, were Jewish or of Jewish

---

[1] Latent anti-Semitism was evident in Berlin where there were some 45,000 Jews, about the same as in all of France or England. Adolf Stoecker, "Unsere Forderungen an das moderne Judentum," (Sept. 19, 1879), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 367.

[2] Stoecker, "König Hiskias," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 80.

[3] Stoecker, "Unsere Forderungen an das moderne Judentum," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 367.

[4] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Das Aufwachen der deutschen Jugend," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 102.

[5] Jewish capitalists became the paradigmatic image of evil. See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Zur Handwerkerfrage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 241. Such anti-Semitic sentiments seem based more on fear and a simplistic analysis of the situation than on reality. Granted there were a goodly number of Jewish industrialists, bankers, publishers,

---

teachers, even all out of proportion to their numbers, but it was more the image of the Jew as the one threatening all that Stoecker held so dear, that came to the fore in his anti-Semitic position.

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Das Aufwachen der deutschen Jugend," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 104.

[2] Wilhelm Meyer attempted to make a case for the fact that Stoecker's anti-Semitic position approximated that of Luther, except that the emphasis was shifted, i.e., for Luther it was primarily a religious problem and secondarily a social and national problem, whereas for Stoecker the reverse was the case, as a struggle for the German and Christian way of life. Evangelische Kirche und deutscher Staat in der Gegenwart, p. 34.

[3] Adolf Stoecker, "Dreizehn Jahre Hofprediger und Politiker," (1895), Reden und Aufsätze, p. 99.

[4] The distinction between Judaism and modern Judaism is made throughout his writings on the Jewish question. As a Christian, he did not want to reject the Old Testament or the dependence of the Church on Jewish traditions. Therefore such a differentiation was necessary.

extraction, added fuel to his developing anti-Semitic sentiments.[1] His solution to the Jewish question was that of conversion and assimilation.[2]

Stoecker's Analysis and Critique of the Social-Democrats (German Marxists) and of their Revolutionary Solution to the Social Problem

One of the primary aspects of Stoecker's social analysis and critique focused on the Social-Democrats and their proposed solution to the social problem.[3] He viewed Social

---

[1] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Das Judentum im öffentlichen Leben eine Gefahr für das Deutsche Reich," (Feb. 3, 1882), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 424.

[2] This theme, even though simplistic and unrealistic, is present in his writings on the Jewish question. See, e.g.: the articles in the section "Zur Judenfrage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 359-485.

[3] As noted previously, Stoecker's analysis was often made from an image, e.g., that of the Jews, which was only more or less based upon reality. The problem of image is particularly evident in Stoecker's dealing with the Social-Democrats. Even though he acknowledged some variation within Social Democracy, Stoecker characterized this movement as a monolith. That is, he saw all Social-Democrats from the image of Marxists. He noted that "their God is the party, their sin is private ownership, their savior is revolution, their Kingdom is the Volksstaat, and their reward is a good life here on earth." "Sozialdemokratisch, Sozialistisch und Christlich-sozial," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 267. Such an image bore only a partial relation to the reality of this time. See Vernon L. Lidtke, The Outlawed Party: Social Democracy in Germany, 1878-1890 for one of the best treatments of Social Democracy. Stoecker's response was primarily to his image of the Social-Democrats as Marxists, an image probably more accurate of the post-Erfurt (1891) party than during the 1870's and 1880's.

Democracy in Germany to be a reaction to the capitalist system and spirit. The merit of Socialism was that it brought the social problem into the foreground.[1]

From his analysis of the situation, Stoecker concluded that reformatory movements, and here particularly that of Christian-Socialism, and revolutionary movements could not be mixed, for one was essentially a constructive in aim and purpose, while the other was destructive.[2] Therefore he took it upon himself to combat the Marxist gospel and to offer a concrete and immediate alternative to the Marxist position. This struggle was essentially a spiritual struggle (Geisteskampf), not only for Christianity but for Germany as well.[3] His aim was to win the workers back to Christianity and to a patriotic love of the Fatherland.[4] He feared the possible consequences of a popular Marxist workers' movement in Germany.

According to Stoecker's analysis, Marxism and the Socialist movement originated within the same Weltanschauung as capitalism; materialism was the foundation of both. He interpreted the rise of the Marxist movement as an indication and direct result of the failure of the present form of community and socio-economic organization. Social Democracy, Stoecker asserted, "is a child of the contemporary Zeitgeist and of great need . . . a result of the loss of morality, of religious apostasy, economic unjustice and misery . . . it exists because of the prevalent social needs and injustice."[1] He asserted that it was a result of "our faulty spiritual development, particularly that of mammonism, materialism, and atheism."[2] Social Democracy was thus the consequence of the social and economic injustices of laissez-faire capitalism. Nevertheless, he viewed Social Democracy as a negative, destructive, and even a "demonic" movement.[3] It fed upon class hatred, social division, and economic injustices, spreading forth its doctrines of revolution and destruction of the divine and worldly orders. The Marxist movement was, therefore, an immediate danger and threat to civilized society. It was also a warning from God to the present social and economic organization that much was drastically wrong.[1] He recognized that Social Democracy capitalized upon latent conflicts and hostilities. They did not create these conflicts but simply took advantage of the present situation. There was fertile ground, particularly within the disestablished groups of society, for such a revolutionary movement to develop.[2]

---

[1] According to Stoecker, the German Social-Democrats were the carriers of Marxism. They were not considered indigenous to the German worker movement. He feared, however, the very real possibility of their domination and control of this movement.

[2] Stoecker "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 198.

[3] Ibid., p. 201.

[4] Stoecker, "Die Bedeutung der christlichen Weltenschauung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 263.

---

[1] Stoecker "Sozialdemokratisch, Sozialistisch und Christlich-sozial," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 216.

[2] Stoecker, "Eine ernste Stunde deutscher Geschichte," Christlich-sozial, p. 494.

[3] Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 196.

Even though fundamentally opposed to the Marxist perspective, Stoecker implicitly agreed with certain aspects of their social analysis. He concurred that for the worker the consequences of laissez-faire capitalism were dehumanizing.[3] He also saw that in the present form of economic organization, labor was viewed as a commodity, to be bought and sold on the open market of supply and demand, and that this was a degradation of the worker.[4] Even though he did not advocate the socialization of industry, he thought workers must have a greater part in production, both in terms of management and in the share of the profit.[1] He differed rather radically, however, from the Marxist understanding of labor as the creator of value.[2] Labor was only one of the factors contributing to the value of a product. The true worth of labor is not its marketable value but that it is the productive activity of human beings.[3] Marxian analysis was helpful in the analysis of the social and economic situation but it was only a partial analysis, for it overlooked the religious-ethical dimension of society.[4]

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Sozialdemokratie, Sozialistisch und Christlich-Sozial," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 226.

[2] The recognition of this fact was one of the important reasons Stoecker saw the need for immediate reform measures. He hoped through reforms to alleviate this potentially revolutionary situation.

[3] Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 162.

[4] Stoecker, "Der Hass der Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 7 and Stoecker, "Zur Handwerkerfrage," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 235.

There were several important aspects to Stoecker's critique and analysis of the Marxist perspective. Even though he could agree and even appropriate some aspects of the Socialist analysis of society, he was not willing to accept the fundamental premise from which that analysis was made.[1] He acknowledged the significance of economic organization in the formation of social structure and the life of a society, but he was not willing to give it deterministic significance. Economic determinism, the way Stoecker understood Marxist theory, obscured more significant realities and dimensions of life, especially the religious-ethical dimension. For example, one of the greatest errors of economic materialism was that it overlooked the whole area of personality, and the aspects of individual freedom and creativity.[2]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 119.

[2] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Der Hass der Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 7.

[3] Stoecker, "Der Hass der Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 7 and Stoecker, "Sozialdemokratie und Sozialmonarchie," Reden und Aufsätze, p. 195.

[4] This is a common theme in Stoecker's critique of the Marxist perspective. He was aware that in their understanding the religious-ethical dimension of society was a consequence of the social-economic organization of that society. Such an understanding was neither true nor adequate for Stoecker. For him the religious-ethical dimension was at least as important, if not more important, as the social-economic organization of society.

Stoecker held that Marxian anthropology was naive and unrealistic. As he understood Marxist theory, they believed that if the structures of existence, and most importantly the economic organization of life, could be radically altered, the social problem and the problem of the de-humanization of man would be solved. Stoecker claimed that the solution to the social problem was more complex than the simplistic answer of "political republicanism,

---

1. It is important to note that Stoecker considered the real power and attractiveness of the German proponents of Marx not to be their social ideal but their social criticism. Their analysis dealt with realistic problems and needs of men, this Stoecker considered existentially relevant to the working classes, whereas their social ideal lacked such realism. Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 199-200.

2. See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Reichstagsreden," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 305.

religious atheism, and economic communism."[1] Such a solution, based upon the universal panacea of the elimination of private ownership, was as unrealistic as it was utopian.[2] Structural changes were necessary, but the social problem and the problem of the de-humanization of man could only be dealt with in a significant manner through a renewal of man and society. It was upon this distinction that Stoecker understood the difference between true and false Socialism. True Socialism was cognizant of the basic religious-ethical dimension of the social problem. False Socialism, allied with a materialistic, deterministic, atheistic, and revolutionary perspective, lacked such an awareness.[3] Structural change provided no guarantee that man himself would change. His anthropological understanding made it imperative that a renewal of man and society accompany any such socio-economic change.

Stoecker's understanding of man and society also had implications for his critique of the class orientation in Marxist theory. Even though his primary concern was with the workers, since this was one of the most pressing problems of the day, he never lost the perspective of the whole of society.

---

1. Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 164-165.

2. Stoecker, "Sozialdemokratisch, Sozialistisch und Christlich-sozial," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 222.

3. Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 196.

From his view of human society as a whole, the class orientation of the Social-Democrats appeared superficial and fragmentary.[1] The fact that Marxist theory focused on one group or class of society rather than on the whole of society was an important factor in determining the means to accomplish their goals. He viewed the tactics and programs of the Social-Democrats as based upon class divisions and hostilities, perpetuated for their own particular interests.[2] Following their ideological mentor Karl Marx, the Social-Democrats sought to solve the social problem by a total revolution and complete reconstitution of society.[3] As a political conservative, Stoecker abhorred the very idea of revolution. Theologically he could never support or justify revolutionary means, primarily because it would so rip the social fabric as to destroy worldly order. God had ordained social structure. One could work within the structure, even radically modify it. Stoecker simply could not **accept** the idea of the destruction of divinely constituted structure and authority. Change, however, within the social structure was not only possible but necessary to continue the process of humanization. Revolution, on the other hand, broke historical continuity and divinely constituted authority, preventing, therefore, the possibility of the continuation of the humanization process.[1] This was true not only because of its violent character but because it destroyed the necessary context or framework for the continuation of the humanization of man and society. Revolution, for example, could never be the means to freedom, for it destroyed the very order and context necessary for authentic freedom. Rather, revolution yielded anarchy and chaos, causing all sectors of society to suffer. Revolution could never be total, either in the sense of complete class warfare or in the complete destruction of the old order.[2] Based on his belief that the Germans were "not bloodthirsty people," Stoecker could not fathom the idea of a successful call to total revolution.[3] He was never convinced that revolution could ever be in the best interest of the country, or even of the working class as for that matter.[1]

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker," Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 194-196.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 195.

[3] Stoecker feared with a passion the possible consequences of the preaching such Marxian themes as "the weapons of criticism cannot replace the critique of weapons, material power must fall by material power." Such talk was absolutely clear to Stoecker, for it was a call "for blood, revolution, and violence," and that spelled the destruction of his beloved Germany. Stoecker, "Der Hass der Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 7 and Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 203.

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Zur Begründung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 4.

[2] Stoecker, "Zur Begründung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 4.

[3] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Der Hass der Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 8.

Moving from his concern that the existence of the worker must be made secure now, Stoecker was particularly incensed that the Social-Democrats were not willing to work for immediate reforms. He recognized that at times they used reforms, but usually to accomplish their own purposes of forcing a confrontation with the established order.[2] He felt that the Social-Democrats were much too concerned with theorizing about the nature of the perfect society and in the tactical preparation for all out class war. Such theorizing and preparation overlooked the immediate needs and problems of the disestablished classes and gave these groups false hopes.[3] The false hope that most concerned Stoecker was the one that continued agitation and eventual revolution would move the working class into the perfect society. Not only were such false hopes dangerous but they were utopian and visionary for such a perfect society could never come into being.[4] For example, Stoecker argued, the accomplishment of the "dream" of a completely socialized state would mean the complete expropriation of all private property, land, and wealth--practical men should realize the impossibility of this.[1] Such a judgment was based not entirely on being practical, for he feared with a passion any talk of expropriation.[2] He considered the idea of socialized labor to be as unrealistic as it was "nonsense."[3] From his perspective the Socialist perfect society was not only impossible but theoretically impractical,[4] for it would be "an absurdity without freedom or happiness." Whereas the result of Liberalism was excessive freedom and individualism, Socialism was an excessive denial of freedom and individual personality.[5] The Socialist paradise was neither viable nor realistic in Stoecker's analysis.[6] Man by his nature and character is not equal, so that even with social and economic equality, there would remain many other aspects of inequality, and thus the possibility for the continuing de-humanization of man.[1]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Ueber die Angriffe auf das Programm," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 26.

[2] Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 194.

[3] Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 172 and Stoecker, "Reichstagsreden," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 316.

[4] This is a common theme, see, e.g.: Stoecker, "Der Hass der Sozialdemokratie gegen das Christentum," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 12.

---

[1] Stoecker "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 14.

[2] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 169.

[3] Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 168.

[4] Stoecker, "Ueber die Angriffe auf das Programm," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 24.

[5] Stoecker, "Sozialdemokratisch, Sozialistisch und Christlich-sozial," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 222-224.

[6] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 169.

Another aspect of his critique of the Social-Democrats focused on their blatant hatred of the Fatherland. He compared such hatred to a child despising his own mother, something inconceivable to Stoecker.[2] Rather than thinking in terms of a national social problem to be dealt with on national terms for all members of society, the Social-Democrats advocated an international class movement and revolutionary tactics to deal with the social problem.[3] Internationalism clearly offended Stoecker's conservative and nationalistic political temperament. The call for an international organization of workers was an impractical dream, but more importantly it diverted attention from social and economic reforms needed now in Germany.[4]

---

1. According to Stoecker's understanding of man, competitive incentives were necessary to bring out man's creative potential. Granted this must be a restricted competition preventing gross exploitation and inhumanities, but such a competitive situation was necessary for the development of free and authentic man. Man cannot be made equal, but could only be made not to take undue advantage of his inequalities and freedom.

1. Stoecker, "Zur Begründung," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 5.

3. This is another example of Stoecker's stereotyping of the Social-Democrats. See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 195.

4. Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 18.

Most disturbing to the court preacher, however, were the violent attacks made on Christianity by the Social-Democrats. Not only did they "hate the evangelical message of the grace of God," but they militantly preached unbelief and atheism.[1] Marxist Socialism denied, therefore, not only man's creaturely status but also the possibility of man's true humanity. To a person deeply believing that it was only the love of God, as manifested through Jesus Christ, that made man free and authentically human, it was inconceivable that men would go whoring after false gods and prophets who preached a false freedom, equality, and brotherhood.[2] Stoecker sympathized with the appeal to freedom, equality, and brotherhood. He recognized these to be moving forces in the humanization process, but not from within a revolutionary context.[3] What he heard was a call to freedom without responsibility and order, to an impossible attempt to make all men equal, and to a brotherhood based upon the hatred of one class for another.[4] Neither the German people nor a particular class were the bearers of authentic freedom, equality, and brotherhood.[1] Christianity was the cause and sole bearer of the historical process of authentic freedom, equality, and brotherhood.[2] For Stoecker, then, such a call must be from within the Christian context and tradition. Authentic freedom is the freedom of conscience, a freedom of responsibility within social order. True equality was equality before God and the Christian community. Brotherhood could only mean a love and common concern for all mankind.[3] Accordingly true freedom, equality, and brotherhood was possible only as a result of a religious-ethical renewal of mankind and society.

---

[1] Stoecker, "Zur Begründung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 5.

[2] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Zur Begründung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 5.

[3] Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 203.

[4] Stoecker, "Zur Begründung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 5-6.

Johann Most, the leader of the Berlin Social-Democrats in the late 1870's, responded to Stoecker's critique by saying "Make your peace with heaven for your time is running out."[4] Such revolutionary talk was exactly what Stoecker feared most. He believed the Social-Democrats were "playing with death" at the expense of the workers.[5] Revolutionary violence could never be in the best interest of the country or the workers and most certainly could not solve the social problem.[1] Remembering the French Revolution, he identified revolution with mass killing, mass destruction, violence and chaos, that brought very few long term benefits to the common man. Such a "demonic" movement must be a scourge brought by God as judgment upon the rampant materialism and unbelief in Germany.[2]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Die persönliche Aufgabe," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 35.

[2] Stoecker, "Ueber die Angriffe auf das Programm," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 23.

[3] Stoecker, "Zur Begründung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Stoecker, "Der Hass der Sozialdemokratie gegen das Christentum," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 9.

The Apologetic Position: Stoecker's Defense for the Validity of Christian-Socialism

Adolf Stoecker, in constant dialogue, or better in constant struggle, with the Social-Democrats and what he understood to be their position, felt compelled to make a defense for his Christian based social perspective. Since he understood the solution of the social problem in terms of social reform based on the renewal of man and the German spirit, clearly in opposition to Marxist theory, such an apologetic was necessary. The issue on which his defense would stand or fall, at least as he understood the matter, was that of the existence of God. This was the basic issue that separated him from the atheistic Social-Democrats.[1] It must be noted from the outset, that it was simply incomprehensible to him that anyone could reject the authentic gospel of the grace of God. Nevertheless he realized that his commitment to the existence of God was a faith position, and as such was on a different level of understanding.[2] He held that one could not prove or demonstrate the reality of God, but then neither could one disprove God. He rejected the general approach of natural theology as the basis for Christian faith, yet he felt the necessity for using this approach in talking about the "evidence for the existence of God."[3] The fundamental question was not just whether or not God is a mere phantasy of the mind, or some projection or human creation, but if he exists, is he a living acting God.[4] Man, according to Stoecker's understanding, searches for a focus for his existence and seeks an answer to the questions of the origin of life and the meaning of existence. There is a compulsion that drives man to these questions.[1]

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Ueber die Angriffe auf das Programm," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 26.

[2] Stoecker, "Sozialdemokratisch, Sozialistisch und Christlich-sozial," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 226.

---

[1] "What man cannot comprehend with his five senses, or touch with his five fingers--so says this approach [here referring to the Social-Democrats]--is not reality, for all is derived from matter (Materie) . . . . But they do not want to ask the question from whence did all this come? It comes from God who created the world and made man himself . . . . Why would anyone hate Christianity, which is his true comfort, freedom, strength, and security . . . . If God is lost, all is lost." Stoecker, "Zur Begründung," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 5.

[2] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 55.

[3] Ibid., pp. 53-64. Since he used the approach of natural theology only in his apologetic efforts, it will be discussed in this section.

[4] Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 54.

Since one could not prove God's existence, the best he could do was to talk in terms of the possibility of God's existence. Stoecker was aware of the fact that to move from the being of this world to Being or God proves nothing with certainty without the presupposition of faith.[2] The same could be said of the attempt to move from the intellect and reason of man to the ground of universal purpose, even though he considered this to be the strongest of the classical proofs for the existence of God. Nevertheless he used these arguments, not to prove God's existence, but to open up the possibility for His existence and thereby undercut the atheism of the Social-Democrats.

To Stoecker, receptive observation of the world would reveal the fact that the harmony of the universe is neither blind nor arbitrary. Such universal order and purpose points to at least the possibility of a personal creative supernatural power. The sense of wonder that the natural processes engender in man could hardly be attributed to the blind power of nature herself.[1] He sought to move from the sense of awe and wonder at such things as ice formation, the order and development in the plant and animal worlds, a bird hatching from an egg, and the growth and development of man himself, to argue for God as purpose and divine order.[2] The argument from order in nature was buttressed by the argument from man's moral sense. Stoecker maintained that one could not account for the reality of human awareness of good and truth except in terms of God, the eternal source and author of the Good and the True.[3] Stoecker acknowledged a historic conditionedness of man's moral sense but he claimed that there was a commonality that pointed to at least the possibility of a supra-human force and source of good and truth.[4]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 55. From a confessional perspective these questions are answered by God's revelation. In terms of apologetics, Stoecker understood such questions to open up at least the possibility for the existence of God.

[2] Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 55.

In another attempt to break through the materialistic stance of the Social-Democrats, Stoecker sought to demonstrate the existence of the soul.[5] A materialistic perspective claims that there can be no God and that faith is equatable with superstition or primitive human consciousness.[1] The denial of the soul by such a perspective presupposed that the soul is a physical reality such as nerves or bodily organs. But as a spiritual reality, such a denial carried no weight. Just as one speaks of an artistic soul, so one can speak of a religious soul. According to Stoecker, the reality of the soul has an independent existence, not in a materialistic sense, but in a spiritual sense.[2] Such a reality can not be disproved by materialistic arguments. Man understood from such a perspective was not human, for materialism eliminated "that spark of God" that makes man a conscious, living, and acting person.[3]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 56-57.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 58.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Here Stoecker uses the word Seele, a word that carries the connotation of the human spirit, as well as the more traditional understanding of soul.

History offered additional evidence for the existence of God. For example, the hand of God could be seen in such events as the war of 1870. According to Stoecker's interpretation, France had started the war, therefore she had to suffer the consequences of her actions at the hands of Germany.[4] Stoecker, however, was not always so providentially oriented, especially when conditions and events were not what he thought they should be. Nevertheless, he believed that just as God had manifest Himself in Jesus Christ, so He does in the "history of His people."[1]

---

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Giebt es eine Seele?" _Christlich-sozial_ (2. Auflage), pp. 48-49.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 50.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 52.

[4] Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," _Christlich-sozial_ (2. Auflage), pp. 58-59.

Stoecker was aware that if one took seriously the possibility of the existence of God, he must come to terms with the theodicy question. One could not resort to a philosophical argument to skirt the issue of the existential reality of pain, suffering, and evil. God gave man the gift of freedom. Man, then, has the freedom to use this gift for creative or destructive purposes. Faulty decisions and actions by man were the source of much evil and suffering in the world. But God also uses and permits evil and pain, here particularly natural evil, as a warning that something is wrong or as testing. In that sense evil was seen by Stoecker as a divine tool for the purposes of the good.[2] Ultimately, then, the theodicy question can only be answered by God.

Some men seek or deny the god in the heavens, others seek or deny a "material or physical god," but according to Stoecker, this is not God. God is not a thing.[3] Nor is God the World Soul of Pantheism nor the impersonal force of

---

[1] Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 59.

[2] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 61.

[3] Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 62.

Deism.[1] Rather God is the personal Spirit in the universe. God cannot be found in the heavens or on earth. He is not the kind of thing or force that can be so located.[2] There was, however, one important exception in the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Here God became form and person. This was Stoecker's confession. He was cognizant that his understanding of God was that of the revealed God, received by faith.[3] "God is Life, the source of true life for man . . . . God is Love become form and person in Jesus Christ."[4] Simply stated, God is the Father of Jesus Christ and therefore He is Christ-like. Faith can say that He is the living God even in a hostile and materialistic world.[5] It is the power of faith that finds meaning in the midst of the ambiguities of life. The existence of God, rather than a rational concept or physical reality to be demonstrated, is revealed to man in the life and changes of this world. It was clear to him that the Christian God is the revealed God and not some postulated substitute.[1]

---

[1] Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 61.

[2] Ibid., p. 62.

[3] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 64.

[4] Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 62-63.

[5] Ibid., p. 63.

It was in such a way that Stoecker sought to at least demonstrate the possibility of the existence of God in order to counter the militant position of the atheistic Social-Democrats. Stoecker considered this apologetic task to be an important step toward the necessary religious-ethical renewal of man and the German spirit. Without such a renewal or reformation, there could be no real progress in the humanization of man and his environment. The religious-ethical reformation, both on the personal and social levels, was understood to be dependent upon the power and perspective of Christianity. It was necessary, therefore, to make a case for the feasibility of belief in God, for the possibility of the existence of God, so that Christianity could provide the dynamic and context for the humanization process. Authentic Socialism, then, had to be Christian-Socialism.

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 64.

Chapter IV

CHRISTIAN-SOCIALISM: ADOLF STOECKER'S PROGRAM

Adolf Stoecker's concern for the humanization of man and society provided the criterion by which he measured, and rejected, the socially insensitive Protestant Church, the state Church organization, the other-worldly and individualistic Christian perspective, *laissez-faire* capitalism, the social structure based upon a division between the rich and the poor, the conditions of the urban workers, the influence of the Jews, and the ideology and activity of the Social-Democrats. It was also this concern that was the determing factor in the formulation of a specific alternative approach and program.

As is evident in his critique and analysis of the present situation, Stoecker was convinced that such humanization could be effective and lasting only if it was based upon a renewal of the religious-ethical spirit of the German people and the nation. The land of the sixteenth century Reformation had to be cultivated by a religious-ethical reform so that the seeds planted by Christian-Socialism would flower into the humanization of all men and their society.

The social problem, according to Stoecker, was one that involved the political, social, and economic factors of the whole society, not merely one class or group.[1] Any attempt to deal effectively with this problem, therefore, had to come to terms with society, its various groups no less than with society as a whole.

Stoecker's description of Christian-Socialism is illuminating in this respect: Christian conveyed a belief in the triune God, the divine order, the peace and joy of the Holy Spirit, and a social perspective that was applicable to all men, while Socialism referred to the belief in the possibility of an authentic community built on brotherhood, "one for all and all for one," a community seeking a renewed inner spirit and a transformation of the outward forms of life.[2] In order to approximate such a Kingdom of God, Stoecker saw the necessity of a two-pronged approach: the reformation of the Church, the people, and the nation by the catalytic effort of socially conscious Christians, and the immediate, even though temporary, alleviation of the worst of the dehumanizing conditions. He was well aware that this approach was only a first step in the creation of an authenthic community. Stoecker pointed out that his approach and position demonstrated a concern, not so much for eternity or the status of one's soul, as for a change in the present conditions of man.[1] Nevertheless he was convinced that his perspective was founded upon the certainty of a living God, ruler of all, who gives purpose and meaning to life, and upon the redemptive activity of Jesus Christ that gives all life eternal worth.[2] It was precisely because he believed his position to be grounded in the truth of God that he felt called to deal with the social problem and its consequences for all men. The Church too often had been exclusively concerned with Christians and the internal issues of organization, theology, and worship. Stoecker, however, possessed a humanitarian concern for all of his fellowmen, and this he thought to be Christian.

---

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf für die christlich-soziale Arbeiterpartei," (Jan. 25, 1878), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 14.

[2] See. e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Sozialdemokratisch, Sozialistisch und Christlich-sozial," (March 30, 1880), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 227.

Stoecker spent very little time theorizing about what it would be like in the ideal community, preferring instead to channel his energies and efforts in working for the reformation of man and society and in the alleviation of the immediate needs of the poorer classes. The former concern manifested itself in his efforts to reform the Church, in his fight against the state Church, in his attempt to inculcate prophetic sensitivity, and in his sermons, speeches, and pamphlets that sought to catalyze a spiritual reformation among the German people. The latter concern was most evident in his political activities and program. His goal was to bring about social reforms and state action to mitigate the needs and conditions of the disestablished classes. He sought a more comprehensive way of dealing with the social problem than the approach of the liberals or than that of suppression, and yet he was not willing to become a social revolutionary. This meant that he was somewhat limited in his choice of means, for he wanted to preserve the existing form and order of society. His aim was to reform and renew the existing social order, not to destroy and reconstitute society. While he could not accept or even conceive of such a radical break from the past form of society, he most certainly advocated a rather radical alteration and reform of this society. The present situation demonstrated the need for reforms, but not the necessity of revolution.[1]

---

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Ueber die Angriffe auf das Programm der christlich-sozialen Arbeiterpartei," (Jan. 25, 1878), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 23.

[2] Stoecker, "Ueber die Angriffe auf das Programm," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 23-24.

He understood the divine order of creation on three levels--man, the family, and the community, both political and religious. Effective reform had to deal with all of these levels.[1] It was his contention that the improvement of the lot of the workers, and the other disestablished groups for that matter, could take place only within the created orders.[2] Such an understanding suggested reformatory rather than revolutionary means. It meant that action had to be taken in such areas as wages, working hours, working and living conditions, insurance, child labor, and Sunday labor. At this point his party program becomes particularly illuminating, for here Stoecker, and those of like-mind, attempted to formulate a program for immediate reformatory action.

---

[1] Stoecker, "Ueber die Angriffe auf das Programm," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 24.

Progam of the Christian-Socialist Workers' Party
(1878)[3]

General Principles:

I. The Christian-Socialist Workers' Party is founded upon Christian beliefs and upon love for the King and the Fatherland.

II. It rejects contemporary Social Democracy as impractical, unchristian, and unpatriotic.

III. It strives for the peaceful organization of workers in order to cultivate the necessary practical reforms in the community in conjunction with other factors in the life of the state.

IV. It pursues as its goal the reduction of the gap between the rich and the poor, and the accomplishment of greater economic security.

---

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 173.

[2] Ibid., p. 174.

[3] This program is reprinted in Adolf Stoecker, Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 20-21. (Translated by this writer.)

Specific Demands:

I. State-Help:

  A. Worker Organizations.

    1. Obligatory national labor associations with continuous control of apprentices.[1]

    2. Required institution of a court of arbitration.[2]

    3. Establishment of obligatory widow, orphan, invalid, and old age pensions.

    4. Authorization of labor associations to represent the interests and rights of the worker in dealing with employers.[3]

    5. Obligatory association security for workers involved in contract negotiations.[4]

    6. State control of the association's treasury.

  B. Protection of the Worker.

    1. Prohibition of Sunday work. Abolition of the labor of children and married

---

[1] Such a proposal was meant to give the associations control over the training and supervision of their members.

[2] A court of arbitration offered the possibility of settling labor-management disputes without the need to resort to long and costly strikes. Stoecker, however, favored peaceful and orderly strikes if the situation merited such action.

[3] Associations were to have the right and power of collective bargaining.

[4] There was to be financial support and legal protection for workers during collective bargaining or strikes.

women in factories.

2. A normal work day /eight hours/, modified at the discretion of the associations.

3. Determined striving for the internationalization of worker protection laws as national labor is adequately protected.

4. Protection of the working class against unhealthy conditions in their working and dwelling places.

5. Readjustment of the laws regulating interest rates.

C. State Management.

1. Management and expansion of existing state and community property in a manner friendly to workers, as far as this is economically advisable and technically admissible.

D. Taxation.

1. Progressive income tax that is compensatory, as a counter measure to existing or newly created indirect taxation.[1]

2. High progressive inheritance tax.

3. Stock-market tax.

4. High luxury tax.

II. The Clergy: Their loving and active participation in all efforts for the elevation of material and spiritual well-being, as far as is justified by the religious-ethical improvement of the whole of society.

---

[1] Progressive taxation was an important means of leveling the extremes of wealth, and in that sense it is compensatory.

III. Established Classes: Their willing cooperation to achieve the legitimate demands of the disestablished, especially through their influence in the state, and through such practical measures as the increase of wages and the decrease of the working day.

IV. Self-Help.

A. Mutual assistance in the association as temporary measures.

B. Cherish all persons, respect all occupations, banish all brutality and crudeness from the pleasures and duties of the family, living in a Christian spirit.[1]

---

[1] It is important to note that the Eisenacher Program, the 1895 Christian-Socialist Party program, even though expanded in form, is essentially the same program as that of 1878. The primary emphasis has been shifted, as had the party's by 1880, from the workers to all of the disestablished groups, but the focus of its proposals remains the urban worker. Included in the section on general principles is some discussion on the solidarity of the community, an aspect implicit in the earlier program. The specific demands are essentially the same as in the 1878 program, but in more detailed form. There are, however, three additional sections, one on colonial politics, one on the Jewish question, and one on the rights of women. The first of these seems to be a rather natural outgrowth of Stoecker's nationalistic orientation that saw the need of Germany competing for colonies in an age of imperialism. The section on the Jews is merely the inclusion of a concern that was manifesting itself in Stoecker as early as 1879. The section on the rights of women is an expansion of a concern present in the 1878 program and of sentiments expressed quite early in his career. The 1895 party program can be found in Okke Norel, Adolf Stoecker, pp. 209-213 and in Paul Göhre, Die evangelisch-soziale Bewegung, pp. 95-98.

The Eisenacher Program is symptomatic of an important problem in Stoecker assessment, for once he had formulated his program of Christian-Socialism, he was unable to keep pace with historical changes. The formulation of his program seemed to petrify his position. This is evident in his later speeches and writing in which he harps on the same themes over and over again. The dynamic and creative perspective and program in the late 1870's and early 1880's seemed to become less relevant and less in touch with reality

As is evident from the program, one of the most important means for the immediate alleviation of the adverse situation of the urban workers was the utilization of the state. Such a means presupposed a highly centralized state with a socially conscious monarch who was willing to bring his authority and influence to bear in immediate reformatory action. Stoecker believed such a situation existed in Germany. Because of his view of human nature, Stoecker knew that it was not possible to depend upon human free will alone to produce good-will and social reform, therefore the need for a greater authority, the state.[1] State-help and control was considered necessary to insure mutual cooperation of all groups of society.[2] But state-help did not merely mean the bringing to bear an authority to guarantee cooperation, it also carried the idea of the state as an example. The state, as one of the largest employers, was to instigate reforms among its workers. Other employers, then, would follow this

---

as time went onward. He was never really able to move out of the context of reality that existed about the time of the early 1880's. Paul Göhre, one of the earliest interpreters of the Christian-Socialist Party, also notes that the 1895 program is essentially the same as that of 1878. Die evangelisch-soziale Bewegung, p. 98.

[1] Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 14.

[2] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Ueber die Angriffe auf das Programm," Christlich-sozial (2 Auflage), p. 24.

example.[1] An integral aspect of Stoecker's notion of state-help was a paternalistic attitude toward the disestablished classes, manifested in state control, regulation, and protection.[2] Stoecker spoke openly of this basic paternalistic attitude, particularly in his belief that the state, by supervision and protection, must be concerned with and care for the religious, ethical, spiritual, and material life of the workers.[3] Government protection was almost the watchword in his program. State-help was not only the duty but the obligation of the state.[4] By providing security in the worker's existence, Stoecker hoped that the worker would have a vested interest in society and begin to develop a self conscious concern about bettering his existence. The example of his understanding of the character of associations provides some insight into Stoecker's thinking regarding the importance of what he called state-help. Those opposed to

---

[1] Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 18.

[2] As noted by Arnold Poepke, central in Stoecker's thinking was the fact that the masses needed leadership and that they were not, as of yet, capable of such leadership themselves. Der christliche Sozialismus Adolf Stoeckers, p. 43. Stoecker's paternalistic sentiments bear out his elitist view of leadership and his understanding of a hierarchically structured society.

[3] See, e.g.: Adolf Stoecker, "Reichstagsreden," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 293-344.

[4] Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 16.

state intervention argued for free associations, but this would result in an exclusive organization providing benefits for only limited sectors of the workers. Obligatory state associations, on the other hand, would be inclusive, providing benefits and protections for all segments of the working class. Also as a state association such benefits were derived only as long as the social order was maintained, thus giving the worker a vested interest in the state and the social order.[1]

Self-help was another important aspect of the Christian-Socialist program. Whereas Lassalle and the Social-Democrats considered thrift and frugality to stand in the way of a developing working class consciousness, Stoecker claimed that this was a necessary part of self-help, at least as an immediate measure in the present situation.[2] For Stoecker, however, self-help was not seen so much in individualistic terms as in terms of the collective self of the workers, as in unions, cooperatives, and associations. He was convinced that the Christian perspective of love and mutual concern was the only adequate basis for workers' associations.[3] An important aspect of his understanding of self-help was the necessity of worker association.[1] This was the great problem, for workers must learn to work together for their own common interest.[2] With such an association, the workers could ask the important question: "What can we do to better our own situation?"[3] Common interest demanded unified strength, for the power of a united common interest is more potent than that of isolated individuals. The organization of workers meant that the workers would have at their disposal a powerful means of asserting their rights and expressing their grievances.[4] Politically such worker associations would mean the possibility of a voting bloc for common interests. But that was about as far as Stoecker would go, for he feared the consequences of workers' political parties and political activities beyond voting.[1] This fear bolstered his understanding of the necessity of state control and his general paternalistic attitude, as illustrated in the Christian-Socialist Workers' Party itself, which was not a workers' party but a party for the workers. Such a peaceful association of workers did not promise the complete transformation of private ownership of the means of production into socialized ownership nor did it promise equality, as did the Social-Democrats. Rather, according to Stoecker, it promised something realistic--the possibility of greater participation in the management of production and the possibility of greater equality.[2] In large measure, self-help was designed to help the workers cultivate a self-consciousness that would manifest itself in dignity and pride in themselves as workers.[3] Such pride would be most pronounced in their family life.[4]

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Reichstagsreden," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 304.

[2] Adolf Stoecker, "Die persönliche Aufgabe in der sozialen Frage," (April 5, 1878), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 37.

[3] Adolf Stoecker, "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 197.

---

[1] Paul Hübner correctly notes that Stoecker's understanding of worker associations falls within the conservative tradition rather than the liberal. Die sozialethischen Anschauungen Adolf Stöckers, p. 18. The former tradition sought to maintain relations within associations in terms of the stratification of authority, as in the guilds. The liberal understanding of association emphasized the idea of a leveling equality. Order rather than equality is the dominate theme in Stoecker's understanding.

[2] Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 15.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Adolf Stoecker, "Zur Handwerkerfrage," (Mar., 1880), Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 244.

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 14.

[2] Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 15-16.

[3] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[4] Here Stoecker is clearly in the tradition of Wichern. The family, according to Stoecker, was the most important of all human communities for it was the basis of all other forms of community. There was a unique religious-ethical power and potential for renewal in an authentic family. Stoecker's attempt to create the possibility for authentic family life helps explain his demands for the abolition of heavy labor for the mother, his advocating a day of rest and family security. The family was to play an important role in the spiritual reformation of the German people and the German nation. See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 173-174.

The clergy was to play an important role as participants in the reforms of society. The Church was to provide moral support to the reformatory action taken by the state, but even more it was hoped that the Church would develop a social sensitivity and response that would make it once again a social force in the humanization process. Such participation was a necessary consequence of authentic Christianity. The concern of the Church should be focused not so much on the status of the worker's soul or with the after-life of the worker, but with his life here and now. Afterall, Stoecker asserted, Christianity has traditionally dignified the poor and the working with one's hands, while encouraging an improvement of the lot of the workers.[1]

Another important aspect of the Christian-Socialist program was the appeal to the established classes to take an active part in social reform. As the owners of the means of production realize that it is to their advantage to improve the lot of workers, then, there is a possibility of dealing effectively with the social problem.[2] His appeal was not to *noblesse oblige* but to *richesse oblige*.[3] Stoecker was realistic enough, particularly due to his anthropological understanding, to make his appeal on the basis of vested interest rather than to assume that such reforms and acts of good-will would come naturally from these groups. It is clear that Stoecker worked from the belief that it was not only necessary for the possessing class to help better the conditions of the working class, but that it was expedient because it would be profitable.[1] Greater security in the lives of the workers was necessary for the health of the national economy. The social and economic reforms set forth in the program would give the workers a stake in society, and therefore were expedient as a preventive of revolution.[2] Accordingly, they were in the best interests of the possessing class. It was a matter of the survival of social and economic order.[3]

---

[1] Adolf Stoecker, "Des Handwerks Not und Hülfe," (Mar. 29, 1878), *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 33.

[2] Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," *Christlich-sozial* (2. Auflage), p. 19.

[3] Adolf Stoecker, "Arm und Reich," (Mar. 18, 1891) (Basel: A. Geering, 1891), p. 12.

---

[1] See, e.g.: Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 19.

[2] Stoecker, "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), pp. 16, 19.

[3] It is important to understand in this context, that Stoecker believed that private ownership was necessary for a viable economic and social order. Without the incentive of private ownership, where he asks, "does dutiful, industrious, and creative energy come from?" "Ueber den Programmentwurf," Christlich-sozial (2. Auflage), p. 15. Personal dignity and creativity seemed to be dependent, in his understanding, upon the incentives of private ownership. Thus his appeal to the possessing class carried with it the weight of the preservation of the possibility of authentic humanity.

It is clear from this program that Stoecker sought an organic relation between the individual and the community or society. Such a unity was to be founded upon Christianity. Underlying his proposals, is the attempt to maintain social solidarity and stability. The worker was not seen as the carrier of the new community, rather Stoecker's program sought to return the worker to the established social order, albeit a renewed and reformed establishment. His understanding of freedom within order, social structure, and the maintenance of authority permeate the Christian-Socialist program.

It would be a mistake to consider the Christian-Socialist Workers' Party strictly as a political party and thus of factional interest.[1] Rather it was an attempt to seek the harmonious cooperation of all interests of society. Co-operation between labor, capital, and machine, between state, Church, and worker associations was Stoecker's goal. Co-operation meant the elimination of cut-throat competition, the end of the vast gap between the rich and the poor, the end of the alienation of the worker from established society and the Church, and the removal of the threat of revolution. Such cooperation, then, would be an important development in the process of the humanization of man and society.

---

[1] The Christian-Socialist Workers' Party was conceived by Stoecker to be a catalytic agent for social reform and for the religious-ethical renewal of Germany. Its role as a political party was as a means to that end. Originally its function was to win the workers away from the Social-Democrats. It was unsuccessful. During the early 1880's it was assimilated into the Conservative Party. The Christian-Socialist Party separated from the Conservatives in 1895, but by that time it was a relic of the past decade.

Chapter V

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

Christian-Socialism, Adolf Stoecker's alternative to Marxist Socialism, was an expression of a profound concern for the humanization of man and his environment. It was Stoecker's contention that the humanization process could occur only within an authentically Christian context. Such a context, according to his analysis, did not exist in his society. Christianity, at least as he viewed its existing forms, was concerned with individual piety, the destiny of the soul, and the orthodoxy of belief. Such Christianity at best implemented its concern in acts of charity to individuals. He warned that the great danger of this form of Christianity, and particularly existing Protestantism, was that it understood its ethical response in individualistic terms. The Church must be more than a collection of devout individuals concerned with the cure and care of souls. The present form of the Church, Stoecker claimed, lacked social sensitivity and concern, and therefore failed in its role of social responsibility. In part the Protestant Church in Germany could not fulfill its prophetic role because of its close ties as a state Church to the state and the establishment. Accordingly Stoecker called for a reformation of the Church and the understanding of Christianity. Only a responsive and socially oriented Church was an authentic manifestation of Christianity. Such a reformation of the Church was imperative, at least in his perspective, so that the Church might be the necessary catalytic agent for the religious-ethical renewal of the German people and of the spirit of the German nation.

This renewal was a concomitant factor of the humanization of man and his environment. In order for social reforms to be lasting and meaningful, man must become authentically human. Authentic humanity was interpreted by Stoecker to be Christian humanity. Here clearly within the Christian tradition of the distinction between the natural man and the renewed or authentic man, he maintained that only a man knowing himself as a child of God, and thus dependent upon God, can be truly human. Such a man would no longer have self at the center of his life but God and neighbor, thus invoking a unique social concern for his fellowmen.

Stoecker understood the first step toward such humanization to be the liberation of the Church from state ties. Once freed, the Church could come to terms with her role, function, form, and purpose, in response to the social problem. Accordingly, it would become a socially sensitive peoples' Church, the catalytic agent in the humanization process. As an authentic Christian community, the Church would shift its focus from a pre-eminent concern for individual salvation to social involvement in the interest of renewing man and society.

In Stoecker's understanding, such an involvement in the humanization process would go beyond the concern for the religious-ethical renewal of man. Many of the disestablished groups of society lived their lives under such de-humanizing conditions as subsistence wages, unfit housing, extremely long working hours in deplorable conditions, working without safety regulations or insurance protection. This meant that the threat of an insecure existence was part of the daily lives of the workers. The existence of the worker must be made secure. Social reform and transformation had to be related to the religious-ethical renewal of man and society.

The primary threat to such authentic social reform, according to Stoecker, was the alternative offered by the Social-Democrats, the German Marxists. Their call to revolution was a call for the destruction of the possibility of humanization, for it threatened to devastate the social context and order necessary for coming to terms with human needs and human problems. Fundamentally Stoecker's objection to the Social-Democrats was based upon his understanding of the need for a religious-ethical renewal of man and society as the necessary context and impetus for dealing with the social problem. If such a renewal was accomplished, then one could work within the established orders with reformatory measures. If, however, such a renewal was not forthcoming, then even the destruction of the established order could not solve the problem and bring about the humanization of man, for man himself had not changed. Thus, to Stoecker, radical change in the socio-economic structure of society was no guarantee that man would change, as the Marxists asserted. One could not bring about a change in man's egocentric and self-assertive nature or create a harmonious society by simply altering his environment or by eliminating such evils as private property. An authentic society would come only from a change in man himself by way of conversion and renewal. It was not that Stoecker thought environmental and structural changes and reforms to be unnecessary, but that they provided no guarantee in and of themselves of solving the social problem, for man himself had to change.

Obstructing such renewal and reform, in addition to the socially insensitive Church and the revolutionary program of the Social-Democrats, were such forces as the public influence of the Jews, *laissez-faire* capitalism, social stratification based upon wealth, and secularism. These and other forces came under heavy attack from Stoecker in his efforts to clear the way for an authentic renewal and reform of man and his society. It was clear to him that for humanization to proceed, the existing de-humanizing forces must be removed. Conflict and confrontation, then, was the first step to be taken in the struggle for the possibility of an authentic humanity and community.

Adolf Stoecker was part of a conservative political tradition that possessed a profound social awareness, as were Johann Wichern, Viktor Huber, Rudolf Todt, and Adolf Wagner. His political position placed considerable emphasis upon the preservation of the social order. He thought in terms of the maintenance of a balance between order and freedom and justice, but the emphasis in Stoecker was clearly on the former. He idealized the monarchy which represented the preservation of order and the possibility of state involvement in solving the social problem. Another aspect of his conservative perspective was his understanding of community. Social structures, even though reformable, were considered a given. His goal, therefore, was to bring the disestablished classes back into a reformed society. He called society to an ideal order, the perfection of the existing order. Social reform, not social revolution, was the way Stoecker understood the continued progress of humanization. The preservation of the social order took precedence over the rights and freedoms of the individual or any part of the social organism. Authentic freedom and the rights of each man could exist only within the context of social order.

The most important legacy Stoecker left to the Protestant social tradition, and to German Protestantism for that matter, was his understanding of Christianity in terms of the humanization of man and society. He introduced into German Protestantism the notion of Christianity involved socially and politically in the needs and problems of man and society.[1] Even though quite traditional in his theological position, his particular orientation had in effect modified the traditional understanding of the Christian faith. The Christian message could not be totally oriented to the cure and care of souls, but it was a call to social responsibility. In the context of his understanding of the humanization of man, this meant an active concern and involvement in the public life of each man and society as a whole.

---

[1] The Lutheran understanding of the Two Kingdoms brought the two realms of doctrine into Protestantism, making the Church's involvement in the social problems of the world difficult. The Lutheran emphasis upon the fulfillment of Christian faith in whatever status or vocation one found himself also obstructed the development of a social ethic. This was particularly true in the Germanies, for the Church was tied to temporal authority in a way that made a social ethic almost impossible. The Reformed tradition, however, was not so tied to the Two Kingdoms' approach, seeking instead a Christian Commonwealth that was covenantal in character, as in Geneva. Within this tradition, the Church had a definite role to play in social affairs in the attempt to approximate the Kingdom of God on earth. An important break in Germany came with the Pietist movement of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which a profound social concern was manifest on the level of individuals. This form of Christianity was not exclusively concerned with the status of a person's soul but was also concerned about the person's existence in the world. Philipp Spener (1635-1705) and August Francke (1663-1727) are prime examples. Johann Wichern and the Protestant-Social movement in the nineteenth century continued this form of Christianity. Adolf Stoecker, a product of this tradition, interpreted Christianity in social and political terms. He understood that the Church must be freed from state ties in order to again assume its prophetic function and its role ministering to the needs and problems of society. He sought to develop a social ethic within the Protestant Church in Germany, recognizing that Christianity was founded upon the Word of God, and that this relativized all worldly authority.

This interpretation of the Christian message struck at the heart of individually oriented and institutional Christianity. His denunciation of Protestant individualism was symptomatic of the implications of social Christianity. His call for a social ethic was a clear challenge to what he considered a socially insensitive Church. His advocacy of a free peoples' Church undercut the foundation of the state Church establishment. He attempted to bring the social problem into the midst of the Church, claiming that as the representative community of God on earth, the Church must assume a responsive position relative to the great needs and conditions of the common man. He sought to cause a renewed social awareness in the Church that would come to see that acts of charity were neither adequate nor appropriate as the Christian response to the social problem. It was not his design to undercut the concern of the Church for man's salvation. But to him salvation meant the healing and reconciliation of the whole man and his society, and could not therefore be divorced from social concern and reformatory action.

One can appreciate the fact that Stoecker realized his position had to be confessionally based. Rather than falling into deterministic empiricism, Stoecker viewed reality from a prior conceptual commitment, viz., the Christian faith. While he thought this framework to be universally valid and solely authentic, he was aware that at base it was confessional. His awareness of this fact was one of the motivating factors in his concern for conversion and renewal of man and his conceptual (religious-ethical) framework so that humanization could take place within the Christian context. Stoecker understood the absolute claim of God to relativize all other claims, thereby giving him a great deal of freedom vis-à-vis finite and man made claims. The realization of his position as confessional, that the only absolute claim on life was that of God, gave him not only freedom but the possibility for a prophetic ministry.

Stoecker's interpretation of Christianity in social and political terms had the impact of radicalizing the Protestant-Social movement of Wichern, Huber, and Todt. He was the first to push Christian social concern and response into an active involvement in the political and social arena. The response of organized charity and of voluntary associations, that had characterized social Christianity in Germany prior to Stoecker, was considered insufficient and inadequate for the needs of society. One of Stoecker's contributions was in seeing these needs and problems in social terms rather than in individual terms. For example, he wanted to reform the socio-economic structures that produced industrial invalids, orphans, and widows, tenement housing, etc. rather than merely treating the symptoms of the problem. He wanted to continue to meet the needs of the individual, but he understood that this could only be accomplished by structural reforms in society. Politics, then, became an important vehicle for Stoecker, something no other in the Protestant social tradition had attempted.

Stoecker was one of the first in the effort to take social Christianity and the Church to the masses, rather than expecting them to come to the Church. Since his interpretation of Christianity meant a concern for the whole man, and not merely for his soul, taking Christianity to the people meant an involvement in their problems in the attempt to make their existence more secure and humane. Not only was his concern for the whole man, but for the whole of the community as well. Important in his understanding of humanization was the solidarity of the community. If there were members of the community who were not free or secure in their existence, this threatened the order and security of the whole society, and meant that no one in the community was truly free or secure. This was as true in the Church as it was in the community at large. Implicit in his understanding was the notion of social sin and structural evil, so that to change man was not enough to alleviate the conditions of the common man. Social sin could be rooted out only by the reform and transformation of social institutions and structures.

Stoecker was also one of the first within the German

Protestant Church to respond to the alternative offered by the Marxists in Germany. He recognized that the Socialists could neither be ignored nor simply denounced as atheists, for they constituted a real and formidable threat to German society and to Christianity. At a number of points, he was somewhat appreciative of their basic concern for the situation of the disestablished man and for their critique of many social institutions and structures. Clearly he differed from them at almost every point, but he was one of the few in his day within the Church to see the necessity of coming to terms with their positions and program. For Stoecker this meant analysis and critique of their perspective, and the presentation of an alternative. Mere denunciation could not eradicate the threat or the reality of the Socialists. This was, according to Stoecker, the naivete of the existing Church. His critique of the Marxist position focused on their false anthropological understanding, seeing man so environmentally determined that simply to change the socio-economic environment would solve the social problem and change man himself. Also singled out as problematic was their advocacy of revolution, which according to him could not bring any of the desired results. Stoecker considered reform measures, not revolution, to be the only avenue for making the existence of the workers secure and humane.

The fundamental criticism that must be leveled at Stoecker is the fact that he was unable to move away from his

Christian-Socialist position formulated in 1878. His understanding of Christian-Socialism was framed relative to the situation in the 1870's and early 1880's. A potent force then, but it was not modified or adjusted to meet the changing situation in the latter part of the century. It was almost as if the formulation of his perspective in the program of 1878 petrified his position. Even in light of Bismarck's social legislation or the changing reality of the social problem and the alternatives of the Marxists, Stoecker did not essentially modify his program. His significant contribution to the German Church and to the Protestant social tradition was made, for all practical purposes, during this early period when his Christian-Socialist perspective was a creative force, and more attuned to reality. His influence in his later life was more in terms of personal activity in social reform and Church renewal, and this must not be discounted, but it most certainly was a different kind of impact than that of his earlier years. Repetition of what had earlier been creative themes dominated the writing of Stoecker after the mid-1880's. It was not that Church renewal and social reform were no longer needed, but that the reality of the situation and the consequent reforms needed to meet this changing situation had moved from that of the early 1880's. The fact of this changing situation is not very evident in Stoecker. Here he becomes a good illustration of the phenomenon of a creative figure being unwilling or unable to alter or modify his position once it has been crystalized.

Any attempt to analyze Stoecker as a historical figure, as enigmatic and problematic as he was, would have to conclude that he felt called to save Germany from the threat of Marxism and to reform the Church. Such conviction was manifest in the courage to tackle and criticize almost everything in sight. His conviction was based upon his belief that he was right. This assurance made him a forceful fighter but also carried with it the danger of inflexibility and unwillingness to change. From his speeches and writings, Stoecker appears as a caustic critic and rather ruthless political agitator. From his letters, however, emerges a sensitive and almost tender person.[1] But then this was not the Adolf Stoecker most people knew.

Another important criticism of Stoecker has to do with his tendency to make superficial analyses of such factors as the Jews and the Social-Democrats. These analyses yielded stereotyped images and caricatures, only approximating reality. For example, not all Jews fit the image of oppressive materialists threatening German civilization, nor were all Social-Democrats Marxists, or even revolutionaries for that matter. He must have been aware of this fact. In part Stoecker's use of images was the consequence of his political activity--politicians tending to favor caricatures and generalizations in taking their message to the public. In his public statements, at least those recorded, his analyses merely scratched the surface of reality, resulting in hasty and often misleading conclusions, particularly those pertaining to the Jews and the Social-Democrats.

---

[1] Reprints of Stoecker's letters can be found throughout Oertzen, *Adolf Stoecker*, I-II and [Adolf und Anna Stoecker], *Adolf und Anna Stoecker Brautbriefe*, hrsg. von Dietrich von Oertzen (Schwerin i. Meckl.: Verlag von Friedrich Bahn, 1913). These letters, primarily from the early period of Stoecker's life, contain sentimental passages to his wife, pious reflections of his life and activities, accounts of his friendships, and some poetry.

An important aspect of Stoecker's understanding of reality was a close identification between Christianity (Protestantism) and Germany, both the nation and the people. Even though he sought to maintain a distinction between Christian faith and patriotism, he thought in terms of German Christianity and Christian Germany. This identification was reinforced by intensely nationalistic sentiments and his belief that there was something superior in the German Volk. Stoecker criticized liberal forms of theology for creating a kind of cultural religion, while in fact he was subject to the same criticism. His cultural religion was not that of philosophical or scientific accommodation, but it was a national acculturation yielding a German Christianity. Such an identification can be understood, in part at least, as a manifestation of an age obsessed with nationalistic sentiments. Nevertheless the idea of German Christianity severely compromised the nature and mission of Christianity, and Stoecker must be taken to task for such an identification. It was not that he was unaware of the inclusive and comprehensive character of Christianity, but it was the way in which he often presented Christianity as German Christianity that must be criticized.

Another criticism that must be leveled at Stoecker has to do with his anti-Semitism. This aspect of Stoecker is probably his most remembered characteristic. Even though somewhat understandable in terms of his nationalism, German Christianity, the necessity for a religious-ethical (Christian) renewal of the nation, and the influence of the Jews in public life, it is nevertheless a demonic position that Stoecker was not able to rise above. Anti-Semitism in Stoecker cannot be explained away. It most certainly is a black mark in his legacy. Even though he was not a racist in the sense evident in the Third Reich, Stoecker was one of those who helped open the flood gates to the Germany of the 1930's and 1940's.

As an alternative to Marxist Socialism, Stoecker's Christian-Socialism was unsuccessful in terms of its objectives and in terms of winning the workers back to Christianity and the Fatherland. He was never really able to implement his social sensitivity and response into meaningful or effective action. Christian-Socialism was, however, one of the many forces that helped better the lot of the workers in Germany, both in terms of the official attitude toward the social problem and in terms of the official response to the immediate socio-economic problems of the urban worker. Christian-Socialism, as embodied in Adolf Stoecker, was instrumental in helping the German Protestant Church develop a more sensitive social consciousness. It was never given a very wide hearing and consequently had only a minor impact on the German workers' movement as a whole.

For the Christian tradition, however, Stoecker offered several important insights. To interpret the humanization process from within the Christian perspective meant that considerable emphasis must be given to the religious-ethical reformation of man and society. His anthropological position was one of the distinctive features of his alternative to the Marxists. Only an authentic humanity made up of renewed men could cause, carry out, and sustain the humanization process. Social reform, and even social revolution, without such a concomitant personal and national reformation would be visionary and utopian. According to Stoecker's position, one must begin from a realistic anthropological perspective, viz., that all men are sinners, yet creatures of God, to effect the humanization process. And this constituted one of the primary objections he had of the Marxists.

In one sense Stoecker was astute enough to see that given the context of his time, national reform measures were the only means available for continued humanization. But then his position came not just from analysis or observation of society, but was based upon a certain theological understanding of God the Creator and the divine orders. Whereas the Marxist Socialists saw the need for workers to unite together, regardless of nationality, in order to deal with their common plight, Stoecker could see only a national solution. In part this was due to his understanding of the method of reform, i.e., the necessity of solving the problem within a given social context. At bottom Stoecker's reform proposals were middle-class and paternalistic, especially in the sense that he would not permit the working class to work out its own destiny, at least as the Marxists advocated. It was as if he wanted to give the workers a vested interest in society through reforms in the socio-economic structure in order to protect the status quo. Such an interpretation can be borne out in terms of his understanding of state-help, state protection, and self-help. But merely to see Stoecker from this vantage point is one-sided for he also possessed a deep social sensitivity and concern for the humanization of man.

It was an insight of Stoecker to see that the situation was not simply an either/or: either the preservation of the status quo by whatever means necessary or revolution, but that there was the possibility of reform and renewal within a given social structure. To this insight the Marxists would give no credence, but then neither would many within the established groups of society. Stoecker wanted to avoid being forced into such a polarized understanding of the solution to the social problem. Christian-Socialism was presented as a third alternative.

Adolf Stoecker's Christian-Socialist perspective was first and foremost a socially sensitive Christian concern and response to the plight and conditions of the common man.[1] As a reformatory spirit and concern for the humanization of man and society, Christian-Socialism was a creative and dynamic force in the life of Stoecker and those around him. Even though this perspective lost much of its original vitality and creativity after it was formalized into a program with specific objectives, Stoecker had introduced into the German Protestant Church a possible means to deal with the social problem and the challenge of the Marxists. Christian-Socialism, then, was the way one sector of the German Protestant Church, and more particularly Adolf Stoecker, responded to the social problem and the revolutionary perspective of the German Marxists. Even though an unsuccessful effort relative to the Church and nation at large, it injected a significant perspective, as well as an additional alternative, into Christian history.

---

[1] This study has attempted to explicate Stoecker's response to the social problem and his alternative to the German Marxists in terms of his understanding of Christianity as the humanization of man and society. As noted in the historiographical study, Stoecker has not been treated as offering an alternative to Marxism in Germany. It is true that his 1878 program has been interpreted as an effort to foil the attempt of the Social-Democrats to win over the German workers, but these treatments of Stoecker have never adequately come to terms with his Christian-Socialist perspective as the alternative he proposed. In this study a distinction has been made between Stoecker's perspective and his program, the former being considered the primary aspect in understanding his alternative to the Marxists and his response to the social problem. Stoecker's understanding of the humanization process meant that he interpreted Christianity in social and political terms. His critique of society, the Jewish problem, and the Marxist perspective followed as a consequence of his understanding of Christianity.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung, 1864-1880.

[Stoecker, Adolf und Anna Stoecker]. *Adolf und Anna Stoecker Brautbriefe*. Hrsg. von Dietrich von Oertzen. Schwerin i. Meckl.: Verlag von Friedrich Bahn, 1913. [This is a collection of letters from the years 1866-1867.]

Stoecker, Adolf. "Die Aenderung der bisherigen Konfirmationspraxis," *Reden und Aufsätze*. Hrsg. von Reinhold Seeberg. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1913, pp. 250-264. [Hereafter cited as *Reden und Aufsätze*.]

________. "Am Wendepunkt," (July, 1890), *Wach' auf evangelisches Volks! Aufsätze über Kirche und Kirchenpolitik*. Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1893, pp. 415-444. [Hereafter cited as *Wach' auf*.]

________. "An der Grenze zweier Jahrzehnte," (Jan. 2, 1880), *Christlich-sozial. Reden und Aufsätze*. Biessefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing, 1885, pp. 511-523. [Hereafter cited as *Christlich-sozial*.]

________. "An die Wähler Berlins!" (1878), *Christlich-sozial. Reden und Aufsätze* 2. Auflage. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1890, pp. 124-127. [Hereafter cited as *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage.]

________. "Die Anfänge der antijüdischen Bewegung in Berlin. Eine Jubilaumsbetrachtung," (1905), *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 141-157.

________. "Die antijüdische Bewegung, gerechtfertigt vor dem preussischen Landtag," (Feb. 25, 1882), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 458-470.

Stoecker, Adolf. "Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis." 2. Auflage. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1892.

________. "Arm und Reich." Basel: A. Geering, 1891.

________. *Den Armen wird das Evangelium gepredigt; ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten über die Evangelien des Kirchenjahres*. 3. Auflage. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1890. /First published in 1886./

________. "Das Aufwachen der deutschen Jugend," (Mar. 4, 1881), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 102-112.

________. "Aussichten und Nebel," (Jan., 1888), *Wach' auf*, pp. 260-285.

________. "Die Bedeutung der christlichen Weltanschauung für die brennenden Fragen der Gegenwart," (July 21, 1881), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 260-274.

________. "Die Bedeutung der neuem Sozialreform," (June 9, 1882), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 274-292.

________. "Die Berliner Bewegung, ein Stück deutscher Erweckung," (1906), *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 125-140.

________. "Die Berliner Juden und das 'öffentliche Leben'," (July 2, 1883), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 427-441.

________. "Die Berliner Stadtmission," *Die evangelische Stadtmission. Zimmers Handbibliothek der praktischen Theologie*. Hrsg. von C. Kayser. Bd. XI-XIV, Abt. 2. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1890, pp. 35-58.

________. *Beständig in der Apostellehre. Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten über die Episteln der Eisenacher Perikopenreihe*. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1901.

________. *Die Bewegungen der Gegenwart im Lichte der christlichen Weltanschauung*. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1881.

________. "Die Beweise für das Dasein Gottes," *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 53-64.

________. "Die Bibel und die soziale Frage," (Sept. 22, 1879, *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 182-194.

Stoecker, Adolf. "Christlich-konservative Ziele für die Gegenwart," (April 1, 1881), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 246-260.

________. "Die christliche Sittlichkeit in ihrer Bedeutung für Volks- und Völkerleben," (1903), *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 217-235.

________. "Das christliche Sittlichkeitsideal und der Goethebund," (1901), *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 236-249.

________. *Christlich-sozial*. *Reden und Aufsätze*. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing, 1895. [This is a collection of essays and speeches on the Christian-Socialist Party, the "Jewish question," the religious, social, and political situation in Germany, and on the Church question in Germany from the period 1875-1882.]

________. *Christlich-sozial*. *Reden und Aufsätze*. 2. Auflage. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1890. [In addition to those essays and speeches included in the first edition, are a collection of Stoecker's Reichstagsreden and a fifty page introduction to Christian-Socialism.]

________. "Christlich-sozial, evangelisch-sozial, kirchlich-sozial," (1904), *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 158-168.

________. "Der deutsche Volksmissionar," *Zeitwende*, III (1935-36), 160-169.

________. "Die drei Paladine des alten Kaisers," (1906), *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 34-53.

________. "Dreizehn Jahre Hofprediger und Politiker," (1895), *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 54-124.

________. "Der Eid," *Christlich-sozial*. 2 Auflage, pp. 89-95.

________. "Einkehr," (Jan., 1889), *Wach' auf*, pp. 324-355.

________. *Eins ist Noth*. *Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten über freie Texte*. 4. Auflage. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1889. [First published in 1884.]

________. "Der Ernst unsrer kirchlichen Lage," (July 7, 1877), *Christlich-sozial*, pp. 469-478.

Stoecker, Adolf. "Eine ernste Stunde deutsche Geschichte," (July 6, 1878), *Christlich-sozial*, pp. 492-499.

________. *Das Evangelium eine Gotteskraft. Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten uber die Evangelien der neuem Perikopen.* Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1900.

________. "Die Freiheit der Kirche als Bedingung ihrer Kraft," (Jan., 1892), *Wach' auf*, pp. 512-549.

________. "Giebt es eine Seele?" *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 48-53.

________. "Des Handwerks Not und Hülfe," (Mar. 29, 1878), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 31-34.

________. "Der Hass der Sozialdemokratie gegen das Christentum," (Jan. 18, 1878), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 6-12.

________. "Ist die Bibel Wahrbeit?" *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 64-78.

________. "Ist noch ein Ausweg?" (Jan. 5, 1878), *Christlich-sozial*, pp. 481-492.

________. *Jesus Christus gestern heute und derselbe in Ewigkeit. Predigt über Ev. Joh. 14, 6, am 2. Sonntage nach Trinitatis, den 10. Juni 1877.* Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben, 1877.

________. "Das Judentum im 'öffentlichen Leben,' eine Gefahr für das Deutsche Reich," (Feb. 3, 1882), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 419-426.

________. "Die kaiserliche Botschaft," (Dec. 2, 1881), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 112-123.

________. "Der Kampf des Lichtes gegen die Finsternis, der Charakter und die Aufgabe der Gegenwart," (Dec. 3, 1880), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 95-102.

________. *Kann ein Christ Sozialdemokrat, kann ein Sozialdemokrat Christ sein?* Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1901.

________. "Die Kirche und das 'öffentliche Leben'," (April, 1887), *Wach' auf*, pp. 188-233.

________. "Die kirchenpolitische Lage," (July, 1887), *Wach' auf*, pp. 234-259.

Stoecker, Adolf. "König Hiskias, die Volksschule und der Berliner Fortschritt," *Christlich-sozial*. 2 Auflage, pp. 78-88.

________. "Die Lage unserer Kirche." Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1887.

________. *Das Leben Jesu in täglichen Andachten*. Berlin: Vaterlandische Verlags- und Kunstanstalt, 1903.

________. "Die Leitung der Kirche. Ein Weckruf." Siegen: Druck und Verlag der Westdeutschen Verlagsanstalt, 1877.

________. "Londoner Erlebnisse bei der Lutherfeier," (Nov. 23, 1883), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 442-457.

________. "Metzer Erinnerungen," (1902), *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 27-33.

________. *Das modern Judenthum in Deutschland, besonders in Berlin*. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben, 1880.

________. "Not und Hilfe," (July, 1891), *Wach' auf*, pp. 473-511.

________. "Notwehr gegen das moderne Judentum," (Sept. 26, 1879), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 369-381.

________. *O Land, höre des Herrn Wort! Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten über die Episteln des Kirchenjahres*. 3. Auflage. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1888. [First published in 1886.]

________. "Die persönliche Aufgabe in der sozialen Frage," (April 5, 1878), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 35-39.

________. "Pflüget ein Neues," (July 7, 1888), *Wach' auf*, pp. 285-323.

________. "Prinzipien, Thatsachen und Ziele in der Judenfrage," (May 27, 1881), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 399-418.

________. "Rechts oder Links?" (July 3, 1875), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 429-431.

Stoecker, Adolf. *Reden und Aufsätze*. Hrsg. von Reinhold Seeberg. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1913. [This collection includes articles from the journal *Christoterpe* and an introductory essay by Seeberg. Most of these sources are from Stoecker's later life.]

________. "Reich Gottes, Kirche und Welt," (Jan., 1890), *Wach' auf*, pp. 380-415.

________. "Reichstagsreden über sozial-politische Angelegenheiten," *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 293-344.

________. "Der religiöse Geist in Volk und Heer während des französischen Krieges," (1876), *Christlich-sozial*, 2. Auflage, pp. 133-159.

________. *Das Salz der Erde*. *Ein Jahrgang Zeitpredigten*. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1892.

________. "Die schlechte Presse," *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 39-48.

________. "Ein schweres Jahr," (Jan. 4, 1879), *Christlich-sozial*, pp. 499-510.

________. "Die Selbständigkeit unserer Kirche," (Jan., 1887), *Wach' auf*, pp. 143-187.

________. "Die Selbstverteidigung des modernen Judentums in dem Geisterkampf der Gegenwart," (Jan. 5, 1880), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 382-390.

________. "Die Sociale Lage und Frage." Gernsbach: Verlag des christlichen Kolportage-Vereins, 1890.

________. *Le Socialisme chrétien en Allemagne*. Paris: [Publisher not given], 1892.

________. *Die Sonntägliche Predigt*. *Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten aus dem Kirchenjahr*. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1889.

________. "Sozialdemokratisch, sozialistisch und Christlich-sozial," (Mar. 30, 1880), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 215-232.

________. "Sozialdemokratie und Sozialmonarchie," *Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 194-216.

Stoecker, Adolf. "Soziale Kämpfe der Gegenwart," *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 160-181.

________. *Die sozialen und kirchlichen Notstände in grossen Städten*. Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1888.

________. "Die tumultuarischen Vorgänge in Neustettin," (Mar. 14, 1884), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 471-484.

________. "Ueber die Angriffe auf das Programm der christlich-sozialen Arbeiterpartei," (Feb. 1, 1878), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 22-26.

________. "Ueber die Liebe zu König und Vaterland," (Feb. 15, 1878), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 26-31.

________. "Ueber den Programmentwurf für die christlich-soziale Arbeiterpartei," (Jan. 25, 1878), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 12-21.

________. "Unsre Aufgabe," (July 1, 1876), *Christlich-sozial*, pp. 445-457.

________. "Unsere Forderungen an das moderne Judentum," (Sept. 19, 1879), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 359-368.

________. "Unsere Stellung zur Sozialdemokratie," *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 194-215.

________. "Das unzweifelhaft Berechtige, Edle und Notwendige der gegenwärtigen anti-jüdischen Bewegung," (Feb. 4, 1880), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 391-399.

________. *Verheissung und Erfüllung. Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten über alttestamentliche Texte*. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1897.

________. "Ein Vorschlag zur Güte," (Feb. 1, 1879), *Christlich-sozial*, pp. 479-481.

________. "Vorwärts!" (July, 1892), *Wach' auf*, pp. 549-582.

________. *Wach' auf evangelisches Volk! Aufsätze über Kirche und Kirchenpolitik*. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1893. [This is a collection of articles from *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* and *Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*.]

Stoecker, Adolf. *Wandelt im Geist! Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten über freie Texte*. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1889.

________. "Was nun?" (Jan. 1, 1876), *Christlich-sozial*, pp. 432-443.

________. "Was wir wollen," (Jan. 6, 1877), *Christlich-sozial*, pp. 458-468.

________. "Wege und Ziele," (Jan., 1893), *Wach' auf*, pp. 582-621.

________. "Welche Gefahren drohen dem kirchlichen Bekenntnis seitens der modernen Theologie und was können die evangelischen Gemeinden tun zur Abwehr?" Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1903.

________. "Wie stehen wir?" (July, 1889), *Wach' auf*, pp. 356-380.

________. "Wo stehen wir?" (Jan. 2, 1875), *Christlich-sozial*, pp. 417-428.

________. "Wo? Wohin?" (Jan., 1891), *Wach' auf*, pp. 444-472.

________. "Zur Begründung einer christlich-sozialen Arbeiterpartei," (Jan. 3, 1878), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 1-6.

________. "Zur Gemeinschaftspflege und kirchlich-sozialen Arbeit." Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1899.

________. "Zur Handwerkerfrage," (Mar., 1880), *Christlich-sozial*. 2. Auflage, pp. 232-246.

Secondary Sources

Barth, Karl. *Evangelische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert*. *Theologische Studien*. Hrsg. von Karl Barth und Max Geiger. Heft 49. Zollikon-Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1957.

________. *Die Protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert. Ihre Vorgeschichte und ihre Geschichte*. Zollikon-Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1947.

Baumgarten, M. "Stöckers gefälschtes Christenthum," (Oct. 15, 1881). Berlin: Stuhr'sche Buchhandlung, [S. Gerstmann], 1881.

Baumgarten, W. *Wider Herrn Hofprediger Stöcker. Eine christliche Stimme über die Judenfrage.* 2. Auflage. Berlin: Stuhr'sche Buchhandlung, [S. Gerstmann], 1881.

Bendokat, Bruno. *Adolf Stoeckers Stellung zur Judenfrage. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenwart.* Witten: Westdeutscher Lutherverlag, 1937.

Bismarck, Otto E. L. von. *New Chapters of Bismarck's Autobiography.* trans. by Bernard Miall. London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1920.

Bonus, Arthur. *Von Stoecker zu Naumann; ein Wort zur Germanisierung des Christentums.* Heilbronn: Eugen Salzer, 1896.

Berg, Daniel R. "Volkskirche, 'Christian State,' and the Weimar Republic," *Church History*, XXXV, 2 (June, 1966), 186-206.

Brakelmann, Günther. *Kirche und Sozialismus im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Analyse des Sozialismus und Kommunismus bei Johann Hinrich Wichern und Rudolf Todt.* Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1966.

________. *Die soziale Frage des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Hrsg. von Sibylle Banke. *Materialreihe der evangelischen Sozialseminare von Westfalen.* 2. Teil. Witten/Ruhr: Luther-Verlag, 1962.

Brandenburg, Hans. *Adolf Stoecker, ein Kämpfer um Volk und Kirche.* Lahr-Dinnlingen, Baden: St. Johannis-Drucherei, [C. Schweickhardt], 1958.

Brauer, Wilhelm R., Hrsg. *Adolf Stoecker. Erbe und Verpflichtung. Gedenkbuch zum 80. Jahresfest der Berliner Stadtmission.* Berlin-Neukolln: Berliner Stadtmission, [Max Lichtivitz], 1957.

Braun, Max. *Adolf Stoecker.* 3. Auflage. Berlin: Verlag der Vaterländischen Verlags- und Kunstanstalt, 1912.

Bredendick, Walter. *Christliche Sozialreformer des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Leipzig: Koehler und Amelang, 1953.

Brunstäd, Friedrich. "Adolf Stoecker als Theologe," *Gesammelte Aufsätze und kleinere Schriften*. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1957, pp. 287-302. [This article first appeared in *Luthertum* (1935), 321-342.]

_______. *Adolf Stoecker; Wille und Schicksal*. Berlin: Wichern-Verlag, 1935.

Buchheim, Karl. "Stoecker und die Christlich-sozialen," *Geschichte der Christlichen Parteien in Deutschland*. München: Kösel-Verlag, 1953, pp. 239-295.

Bunke, Ernst. *Adolf Stoecker. Ein Kämpfer für Kirche und Volk*. Durchgesehen und erweitert von Hermann Bunke. 2. Auflage. Giessen und Basel: Brunnen-Verlag, 1959. [This is volume 137-138 of the series "Zeugen des Gegenwärtigen Gottes."]

_______. "Der Mann der Kirche," *Adolf Stoecker. Der Herold für Volk und Kirche*. Berlin: Hochweg Verlag, 1935, pp. 34-57.

C., K. *Die Stöckersche Bewegung und der evangelische Geistliche. Ein Beitrag zur Eröterung über das Verhältniss des Christenthums zur Politik*. Berlin: Verlag von Thormann und Goetsch, 1884.

Cassel, Paulus. *Die Antisemiten und die evangelische Kirche. Sendschreiben an einen evangelischen Geistlichen*. Berlin: J. A. Wohlgemuths Verlagsbuchhandlung, [Max Herbig], 1881.

Clark, Evalyn A. "Adolf Wagner: From National Economist to National Socialist," *Political Science Quarterly*, LV, 3 (Sept., 1940), 378-411.

Dehn, Günther. "Adolf Stöcker," *Zwischen den Zeiten*, VIII (1924), 26-48.

Dietrich, Max. *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre Berliner Stadtmission*. Berlin: Berliner Stadtmission, 1952.

Drummond, Andrew L. *German Protestantism Since Luther*. London: The Epworth Press, 1951.

Evers, Ernst. *Die Berliner Stadtmission*. Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1902.

Fendrich, Anton. "Sozialistische und christliche Weltanschauung," *Vom inneren Frieden des deutschen Volks*. Hrsg. von Friedrich Thimme. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1916.

Frank, Walter. *Hofprediger Adolf Stoecker und die christlichsoziale Bewegung*. 2. Auflage. Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1935. [First published in 1928.]

________. "Hofprediger Stöcker," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CCI, 1 (July-Sept., 1925), 56-81.

Gerhardt, Martin. *Johann Hinrich Wichern. Ein Lebensbild*. 3 vols. Hamburg: Agentur d. Rauhen Houses, 1927-1931.

Göhre, Paul. *Die evangelisch-soziale Bewegung. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Ziele*. Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Grunow, 1896.

Grauenhorst, C. *Hofprediger Stöcker, seine Feinde und sein Prozess*. Berlin: Verlage des Verfassers, 1885.

Hagenmeister, Friedrich. "Adolf Stoecker," *Soziale Praxis*, XLIV, 16 (1935), 464-470.

Heuss, Theodor. *Friedrich Naumann, der Mann, das Werk, die Zeit*. 2. Auflage. Stuttgart: R. Wunderlich, 1959. [First published in 1937.]

Hübner, Paul Gerhard. *Die sozialethischen Anschauungen Adolf Stöckers in genetischer und systematischer Darstellung*. Dissertation, Universität Greifswald. Wittenberg: Herrose und Ziemsen, GmbH., 1929.

Jöhlinger, Otto. *Bismarck und die Juden. Unter Benutzung unveröffentlichter Quellen*. Berlin: D. Reimer, 1921.

Kaehler, Siegfried A. "Adolf Stöcker 1835-1909," *Studien zur deutschen Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Aufsätze und Vorträge*. Hrsg. von Walter Bussmann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961, pp. 184-203. [This is a reprint from *Die Grossen Deutschen. Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Hrsg. von Willy Andreas und Wilhelm von Scholz. 4 vols. Berlin: Propylaen-Verlag, 1936, IV, 179-199.]

________. "Stöckers Versuch, eine christlich-soziale Arbeiterpartei in Berlin zu begründen (1878)," *Deutscher Staat und Deutsche Parteien. Beiträge zur Deutschen Partei- und Ideengeschichte. Friedrich Meinecke Festschrift*. Hrsg. von Paul Wentzcke. München und Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1922, pp. 227-265.

Kayser, C. Die evangelische Stadtmission. (*Mit einem* Anhang über die Berliner Stadtmission von A. Stocker.) *Zimmers Handbibliothek der praktischen Theologie*. Bd. XI-XIV, Abt. 2. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1890.

Kegge, Cornelius M. *De evangelische-sociale beweging in Duitschland*. Rotterdam: Drukkerj Libertas, 1916.

Klein, Gottlieb. *Zur 'Judenfrage.' Unsere Anforderungen an des Christenthum des Herrn Stöcker*. Zürich: J. Schabelitz, 1880.

Klein, Timotheus. "Adolf Stoecker: 1835-1909," *Lebendige Zeugen, Deutsche Gestalten im gefolge Christi*. Berlin: Wichern-Verlag, 1937, pp. 296-309.

Krause, D. von. Hrsg. *Zum Austritt Stöckers aus der konservativen Partei*. Berlin: Max Pasch, 1896.

Kupisch, Karl. "Adolf Stoecker," *Durch den Zaun der Geschichte*. Berlin: Lettner-Verlag, 1964, pp. 188-198.

________. "Hofprediger und Volkstribun. Adolf Stoeckers Ringen mit den Mächten seiner Zeit," *Vom Pietismus zum Kommunismus*. Berlin: Lettner-Verlag, 1953, pp. 151-188.

________. "Adolf Stoeckers politischer Anlauf," *Kirche und soziale Frage im 19. Jahrhundert*. *Theologische Studien*. Hrsg. von Karl Barth und Max Geiger. Heft 73. Zürich: EVZ-Verlag, 1963, pp. 20-25.

________. *Zwischen Idealismus und Massendemokratie: Eine Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland von 1815-1945*. Berlin: Lettner-Verlag, 1955.

LeSeur, Paul. *Adolf Stoecker, der Prophet des Dritten Reiches*. Berlin: Hochweg-Verlag, 1933.

Lidtke, Vernon L. *The Outlawed Party: Social Democracy in Germany, 1878-1890*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Lindel, Hans. "Der Politiker Stoecker (äussere und innere Gründe seines Scheiterns)," *Wort und Tat*, XII (1935), 359-365.

Löber, Volkmar. "Hofprediger Adolf Stoecker," *Die Innere Mission*, XXX, 12 (1935), 331-341.

Mackintosh, Hugh Ross. *Types of Modern Theology. Schleiermacher to Barth*. London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1937.

Malbeck, Gerhard. *Der Einfluss des Judentums auf die Berliner Presse von 1800-1879. Ein Nachweis der Berechtigung des Auftretens Adolf Stoeckers gegen die Verjudung der Berliner Presse*. Dissertation, Universität Leipzig. Dresden: Dittert, 1935.

Mehring, Franz. *Herr Hofprediger Stöcker der Socialpolitiker. Eine Streitschrift*. Bremen: C. Schunemann's Verlag, 1882.

Meyer, Wilhelm. *Evangelische Kirche und deutscher Staat in der Gegenwart nach evangelisch-reformatorischen Grundsätzen im Anschluss an Adolf Stöcker*. Dissertation, Universität Bonn. Bonn: Gebr. Scheur, 1935.

Minia, Günther. *Die Bedeutung des Hof- und Dompredigers Adolf Stoecker für das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei Union, GmbH., 1944.

Naumann, D. Gottfried. *Sozialismus und Religion in Deutschland. Bericht und Kritik*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1921.

Naumann, Friedrich. *Werke: Religiöse Schriften*. Hrsg. von Walter Uhsadel. Koln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1964. [This collection includes a number of articles on Stoecker and the Christian-Socialists.]

Norel, Okke. *Adolf Stoecker en zijn sociaal-ethisch streven*. Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1914.

Oertzen, Dietrich von. *Adolf Stoecker. Lebensbild und Zeitgeschichte*. 2 vols. Berlin: Verlag der Vaterländischen Verlags- und Kunstanstalt, 1910. [This is an expansion of his 1909 book of the same title.]

________. *Von Wichern bis Posadowsky*. Hamburg: Rauhes Haus, 1908.

Orandt, J. J. *Der Hofprediger Stöcker seine Feinde und sein Prozess*. 2. Auflage. Berlin: Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1885.

Paulsen, Ingwer. *Viktor Aimé Huber als Sozialpolitiker*. 2. Auflage. Berlin: Herbert Renner, 1956. [First published in 1931.]

Pestalozzi, J. *Herr Hofprediger Stöcker und die christlich-soziale Arbeiterpartei*. Halle: E. Strien, 1885.

Pinson, Koppel S. Modern Germany: Its History and Civilization. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954.

Poepke, Arnold. Der christliche Sozialismus Adolf Stoeckers. Dissertation, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, Würzburg: Richard Mayr, 1938.

Pulzer, Peter G. J. The Rise of Political Anti-semitism in Germany and Austria. New Dimensions in History: Essays in Comparative History. Norman F. Cantor, ed. New York: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964.

Schreiner, Helmuth. Macht und Dienst; Adolf Stoeckers Kampf um die Freiheit der Kirche. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1951.

Schwalb, M. Zur Beleuchtung des Stöcker-Mythus. Berlin: Walther & Apolant, 1885.

Seeberg, Reinhold. "Adolf Stoecker als geschichtliche Persönlichkeit," Reden und Aufsätze, pp. 1-26.

Shanahan, William O. German Protestants Face the Social Question: The Conservative Phase. 1815-1871. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1954.

Stupperich, Robert. "Adolf Stoeckers Anfänge (nach ungedruckten Briefen und unbeachteten Aufsätzen)," Historische Zeitschrift, CCII, 2 (April, 1966), 309-332.

Thieme, Walter. "Der Mann der Inneren Mission," Adolf Stoecker. Der Herold für Volk und Kirche. Berlin: Hochweg Verlag, 1935, pp. 58-80.

Thier, Erich. Die Kirche und die soziale Frage. Von Wichern bis Friedrich Naumann. Eine Untersuchung über die Beziehungen zwischen politischen Vorgängen und kirchlichen Reformen. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1950.

Thimme, Friedrich W. K. Hrsg. Revolution und Kirche; zur neuordnung des Kirchenwesens im deutschen Volksstaat. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1919.

Tillich, Paul. Perspectives on 19th and 20th Century Protestant Theology. Carl E. Braaten, ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.

Todt, Rudolf. Der radikale deutsche Socialismus und die christliche Gesellschaft. Versuch einer Darstellung des socialen Gehaltes des Christenthums und der socialen Aufgabe der christlichen Gesellschaft auf Grund einer Untersuchung des Neuen Testaments. 2. Auflage. Wittenberg: R. Herrose, 1878. /First published in 1877./

Traeder, Gertrud. *Die sozialpolitischen Anschauungen Adolf Stöckers nach dem christlich-sozialen Arbeiter-Programm von 1878*. Dissertation, Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität zu Bonn. Barmen: Montanus und Ehrenstein, 1920.

Veidt, Karl. "Der Politiker," *Adolf Stoecker. Der Herold für Volk und Kirche*. Berlin: Hochweg Verlag, 1935, pp. 1-33.

Walter, Detlev von. *Die freie Volkskirche als Ziel Adolf Stöckers*. Dissèrtation, Universität Rostock. Rostock i. Meckl.: Beckmann, 1937.

Wendland, Walter. "Beiträge zu den kirchenpolitischen Kämpfem um Adolf Stoecker," *Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte*, XXXI (1936), 139-188.

Zeuge Stöcker. Ein Zeitbild aus dem Jahre 1885. Berlin: Verlag der "Fortschritt aktiengesellschaft," 1885.

BIOGRAPHY

Ronald Lee Massanari was born June 4, 1941, in Champaign, Illinois. He attended Goshen College where he received the Bachelor of Arts degree in June, 1963. On June 8, 1963, he married Rhoda May Nyce of Lansdale, Pennsylvania. He attended the University of Wisconsin during the 1963-1964 academic year and received the Master of Arts degree in History in January, 1965. His thesis was "Victor Prosper Considerant: The Man and the Social Critic." Subsequently he attended Garrett Theological Seminary, where he was the recipient of a Howes Fellowship (1964-1966). He received a Bachelor of Divinity (academic) degree in August, 1966. In September, 1966, he entered the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in the Department of Religion at Duke University. While at Duke, he was the recipient of a Duke-Danforth Apprentice Teaching Fellowship (1967-1969).